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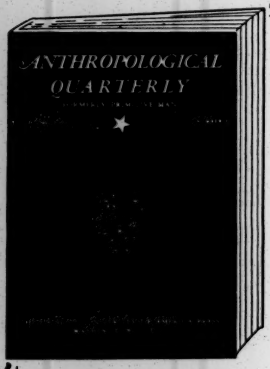

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OUR LADY IN ANCIENT IRISH HYMNS

In the literature of ancient Ireland there is a wealth of material bearing testimony to that country's early and marked devotion to Our Lady. Of this evidence the most important department is, in all likelihood, hymnology. This we believe to be the case because the hymn, like the secular poem, was a favourite genre of literary expression in old-time Ireland. Its subjects, therefore, were well calculated to fascinate and win the respect of a people with a remarkable flair for verse and a striking attachment to music.

For the earliest pen tribute to Mary through the medium of the hymn we can go back even to Patrician times. At this period we find the Carmen Paschale, a hymn still treasured by the Church in the Divine Office, coming from the pen of Sedulius, a theologian and poet, then highly esteemed throughout Western Europe. In this work we find a tribute to the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady couched in this lovely imagery:

"Safe from the rugged thorn springs up the tender rose
In honour hidden the parent stem, in beauty's softness grows;
So from the sinful stem of Eve all sinless Mary came,
To cover and to expiate her mother's deed of shame."

About the same period we find St. Ultan indirectly bestowing, in his *Christus in nostra insula,* very great praise on the Mother of God. This he does by comparing St. Brigid, the national patroness of Ireland, with the Blessed Virgin. Calling her the "Mary of Erin," he says she is worthy of this title because "it has been her life's endeavour" to imitate as much as possible the Mother of God. What great praise these words of St. Ultan indirectly held for Our Lady we may see from the manner in which an ancient Gaelic writer lauded St. Brigid in the *Leabhar Breac.* "There was not in the world," this writer quaintly tells us, "one of more bashfulness of modesty than this holy virgin. . . . She was abstinent, unblemished, fond of prayer, patient, rejoicing in God's commands, benevolent, forgiving, charitable. . . . And hence in things created her type is the dove among birds, the vine among trees and the sun above the stars." If, then, Brigid seemed so resplendent in virtue to the ancient Gael, what

must he not have thought of Mary from the sun of whose glory the national patroness borrowed such exceptional light!

Passing to the sixth century we discover in St. Columbanus, Ireland's most outstanding foreign missionary in ancient times, a very ardent disciple of Mary. In her he saw his most powerful helper in the work of saving souls, for, "as death," he says, "came to us through Eve, so is the path of all life opened to us through Mary." Equally devoted to Our Lady was St. Columcille of the same century, whose name and achievements, after the passage of fourteen hundred years, are still treasured in the national mentality of his country. Hence it was that the author of the famous "Amhra" composed in honour of St. Columcille intertwined the glory of the saint with that of his Saviour, "the Son of Mary, the Virgin." Still within this century, according to M. Gaidoz, a noted French Celtic scholar, we have a hymn written by St. Colman wherein the protection of the Lord is sought through the most powerful intercession of His Mother. Finally, to this distant age we can trace, according to the learned Whitley Stokes, a versified prayer by St. Sanctain which contains fervent appeals to Our Lord as "the great Son of Mary."

For our next noted tribute to Our Lady we go to St. Cuchumneus who died in the first half of the eighth century. On her he bestows praise as "the Mother of the great Lord," and "the greatest, the holy, the venerable Virgin," to whom "no one throughout all time was like." In the evidence of this ancient devotion so far produced it is of interest to note that the early Irish had a pronounced tendency in prayer addressed to Our Lord to associate Him with His Blessed Mother.

Leaving two centuries behind us we come to Aengus, whose "Feilire" or Festology of the Saints contains many references to Our Lady. Of this long work one of the most attractive parts is a hymn to the Holy Child by St. Ita, known to ancient Gaeldom as the Brigid of Munster. Herein we see its holy author, with a fascinating tenderness born of characteristic Celtic intimacy with the spiritual world, exulting in emulating the Mother of God as the reverent nurse of the Infant Jesus. Indeed, this mystic mothering of the Holy Child she regarded as something sanctifying and obligatory. Did not the Little Jesus call for her care

as He called for that of His Holy Mother and was she not obliged to answer that demand if she were to emulate Mary in her sacred intimacy with her Son?

"The fair Jesus, my good life,
Demands my care and resents neglect;
The King Who is Lord of all,
To pray Him not we shall be sorry.

It is Jesus, the noble, the angelical,
Not at all a tear-worn cleric,
That is nursed by me in my dear Disert,
Jesus, the Son of the Hebrew Maiden."

For our next source of information concerning Ireland's early devotion to Mary we come to the *Liber hymnorum* which Celtic scholars inform us belongs to the ninth or tenth century. In this we find a long list of saints paired in accord with a supposed similarity between their lives. Now of all these saints Brigid finds primal honour by being placed in the company of Our Lady. In another part of this collection St. Breccan expresses his esteem for the great Abbess of Kildare by the words: "I have not found anyone comparable to her save Mary." Yet another hymn in this collection yields us striking evidence of early Irish devotion to the Mother of God. In this all the glories of Mary most treasured by Catholic hearts are sung with a poetic elegance and an intimacy of expression strikingly suggestive of Marian hymnology of modern times. Some of its verses, finely translated by Father Potter, a former professor of All Hallows College, Dublin, we think well worth producing here.

"In alternate measure chanting, daily sing we Mary's praise,
And in strains of glad rejoicing, to the Lord our voices raise . . .

Judah's ever-glorious daughter, chosen Mother of the Lord,

Who, to weak and fallen manhood, all its ancient worth restored.

From the ever-lasting Father Gabriel brought the glad decree

That, the Word Divine conceiving, she should set poor sinners free.

Of all virgins pure, the purest, ever stainless, ever bright,
Still from grace to grace advancing, fairest daughter of the light.
Wondrous title—who shall tell it—whilst the Word Divine she bore,
Though in mother's name rejoicing, virgin purer than before!
By a woman's disobedience, eating the forbidden tree,
Was the world betrayed and ruined, and by woman's hand set free."

A final quotation from the *Liber hymnorum* which we deem worthy of production here is the following typically Celtic tribute to Our Lady:

"Mary, the Mother of the Creator,
The Holy Virgin; she is our sister,
And she is akin to every triad."

For the specialist in Gaelic literature, this verse holds a world of meaning. In it he sees the writer, actuated by the strong family and tribal instincts of the ancient Gael as well as his sense of familiarity with things supernatural, voicing spiritual kinship with the Blessed Virgin. Furthermore, he observes that, in accord with the old Gaelic mentality, the author of this quotation bestows the highest praise on Our Lady when he says she is "akin to every triad." The triad or triple proverb enshrining the age-long wisdom of the Gael is often in evidence in his epic tales and ancient poems. In its threefold character there lived a mystic significance weighted with an authority which few cared to challenge. When, therefore, the writer said that Our Lady was "akin to every triad" he felt he was bestowing on her a height of eulogy which no true Gael would call in question.

Our last extract from Gaelic literature in support of our theme is a hymn entitled: "The Protecting Corselet of Mary" declared by the great Celtic scholar, O'Curry, to be seven hundred or more years old.

"O Queen of the saints, of the virgins, of the angels,
O honey-comb of eternal life,
All-surpassing power, presumptuous valour,
Goes not far without thee....

When falling in the slippery path,
Thou art my smooth, supporting hand-staff,
O Virgin from the southern clime,
May I go to Heaven to visit thee.

There is no hound in fleetness or in chase,
Nor wind nor rapid river,
As quick as the Mother of Christ to the bed of death,
To those who are entitled to her kindly protection . . .

O Mary gentle, beautiful,
O Meekness, mild and modest,
I am not tired of invoking thee,
Thou art my guiding staff in danger."

In these lines the ancient Gael pays fascinating homage to Mary in simple yet picturesque language. Its note of child-like familiarity and trustfulness reveals the ease with which the early Irish lived in the world of the supernatural. For that old-time writer going to Heaven meant simply the "visit" of a child to its Mother.

JAMES F. CASSIDY

Waterford, Ireland

A SIXTH-CENTURY PAROCHIAL SERMON IN THE MORGAN LIBRARY

Among the prelates of Christian antiquity it would be difficult to find one more conscious of his pastoral obligations than St. Caesarius, bishop of the southern French city of Arles from c. 502 to 542 A.D.[1] His solicitude for the faithful of his see-city is clearly revealed by his establishment of a hospital in close proximity to the cathedral church of St. Stephen,[2] and by his provision for spiritual needs in the introducing at St. Stephen's of the daily Offices of Tierce, Sext and None.[3]

But there was more to the Diocese of Arles in Caesarius' day than its urban center. Well before his time, both the *vici* (townships inhabited by freemen who owned the adjacent lands) and the *villae* (private estates in the hands of one or several proprietors) in the rural sections of the bishoprics of southeast France had possessed churches of their own.[4] There was, to be sure, origi-

[1] The contemporary *Vita Caesarii* is best edited in Germain Morin, *Sancti Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis opera omnia* (Maredsous, 1942), II, 296-345; its structure has been studied by Samuel Cavallin, *Literarhistorische und textkritische Studien zur Vita s. Caesarii Arelatensis* (Lund, 1934). Substantial modern biographies are found in Carl F. Arnold, *Caesarius von Arelate und die gallische Kirche seiner Zeit* (Leipzig, 1894), and in A. Malnory, *Saint Cèsaire, évêque d'Arles* (Paris, 1894).

[2] *Vita Caesarii*, I, 20 (ed. Morin, II, 303); Arnold, *Caesarius von Arelate*, p. 395, dates the foundation of the hospital between 532-42 A.D. and suggests that it was the first such institution in Gaul.

[3] *Vita Caesarii*, I, 15 (*ibid.*, 301-302): "De profectibus itaque cunctorum sollicitus et providus pastor statim instituit, ut cotidie tertiae sextaeque et nonae opus in sancti Stephani basilica clerici cum hymnis cantarent, ut si quis forte saecularium vel penitentum sanctum opus exsequi ambiret, absque excusatione aliqua cotidiano inesse possit officio." The *statim* indicates that this provision dates from the commencement of Caesarius' episcopate. That prior to 502 A.D. the Arles cathedral regularly celebrated Lauds and certain other Offices (*"aliisque conciliis"*) is testified to by the *Vita Caesarii*, I, 11 (*ibid.*, 300), while the *Vita Hilarii Arelatensis*, 27 (ed. S. Cavallin, *Vitae ss. Honorati et Hilarii* [Lund, 1952], p. 104) bears witness that at Hilary's death, on May 5, 449, a *"sacrificium vespertinae laudationis"* was already among the *"solita officia"* of the Arles cathedral.

[4] The existence of churches in the *vici* appears from the Council of Riez, 439 A.D., cc. 4, 5 (ed. Labbe-Cossart, *Sacrosancta Concilia* [Paris, 1671],

nally a difference in the canonical condition of these churches; as early as 506 A.D. the parochial status of the *vicus* churches seems to be taken for granted, though as yet the oratories of the *villae* are being denied such rank.[5] However, before the close of Caesarius' lifetime—specifically by 541—synodal legislation faces up to the fact that in some instances at least the private estates had come to be endowed with their own *parrochiae*.[6]

Through the rural *parrochiae* of the Arles diocese, St. Caesarius can be traced upon visitation.[7] He strove to call upon these outlying communities two or three times in the year, though he was not always quite on schedule.[8] In some localities, his coming was made memorable by the working of a cure.[9] In others, it was marked by dramatic relief from demoniac disturbances.[10] Yet even where there was nothing to hint at the miraculous, rural folk would at least be treated to the preaching of their bishop.[11]

III, 1287-88); the *villa* oratories find mention in the Council of Orange, 441, c. 10 (*ibid.*, 1449). There is reason for thinking that churches in the *vici* of Gaul can be traced back to the 4th century, cf. E. Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne a l'époque romaine* (Paris-Toulouse, 1947), I, 274-75.

[5] Cf. Council of Agde, 506, c. 21 (ed. Morin, *S. Caesarii Opera*, II, 46) which recognizes a *"legitimus . . . ordinariusque conventus"* to a *"parrocia,"* but differentiates this from an *"oratorium in agro"* which is described as *"extra parrocias."*

[6] Council of Orleans, 541, c. 26 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia*, I, 93): "Si quae parrochiae in potentum domibus constitutae sunt . . ."; canon 33 of the same synod suggests that *diocesis* and *parrochia* were here used interchangeably. For the early history of the term *parrochia*, cf. De Labriolle in *Bulletin Du Cange*, III (1927), 196-205. The evolution of the parish is studied by P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses rurales dans l'ancienne France du IV^e^ au XI^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1898).

[7] References to these journeyings will be found in the *Vita Caesarii*, I, 50 (ed. Morin, II, 317); II, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 (*ibid.*, pp. 332-34).

[8] Caesarius, *Sermon* 151, n. 1 (ed. Morin, I, 583): "Si temporis necessitas permitteret, fratres carissimi, non solum semel in anno, sed etiam secundo vel tertio vos visitare volebamus. . . . Sed quod voluntas cupit, temporis necessitas non permittit."

[9] *Vita Caesarii*, II, 19, 20.

[10] *Vita Caesarii*, II, 21, 22.

[11] *Vita Caesarii*, II, 20 (ed. Morin, II, 333): ". . . post praedicationem quam non solum in civitate, sed etiam in omnibus parrochiis, cum potuit, per se memoriter facere minime distulit. . . ."

A number of these rural sermons have fortunately been preserved among the works of the prelate of Arles.[12] One in particular, significantly marked in the manuscripts *Sermo in parrociis necessarius,*[13] has been vindicated for St. Caesarius and edited as his *Sermon* 13 by Dom Germain Morin.[14] In 1937, at the time of publishing the sermon, Dom Morin had lost sight of the best manuscript wherein it is contained—the Ashburnham-Barrois mss 57 which he had copied in London in 1888. Fortunately, however, this mss had been purchased from Bernard Quaritch by John Pierpont Morgan, Sr., in January 1902, and is now deposited in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City, where it is catalogued as Morgan mss M 17.[15]

Dr. E. A. Lowe has dated this mss (in early French miniscule of the Luxeuil type) about the middle of the 8th century.[16] Both the mss' antiquity and its general excellence have caused the present writer to prepare the following translation of the *Sermo in parrociis necessarius* directly from fol. 2r-5v of the Morgan mss M 17:

[12] V.g., *Sermons* 6, 16, 17, 19, 22, 29, 151, in Dom Morin's edition. Caesarius' preface (*Sermon 2*) indicates that the 35 homilies of the Stuttgart mss Theol. fol. 201 were designed for delivery by the parochial clergy themselves.

[13] So named in the Pierpont Morgan mss M 17 and in the Stuttgart mss Theol. fol. 201; the variant form: *Sermo in parociis satis necessarius* appears in the mss. Einsiedeln 281, St. Gall 682, and Paris B.N. lat. 2628.

[14] Ed. Morin, I (1937), 62-67, reprinted in *Corpus Christianorum* (Turnhout, 1953), series latina, 103, 64-68. Dom Morin is well aware that this sermon is printed as an appendix to St. Augustine in *MPL* 39, 2237-40, and is attributed to the Bishop of Hippo in the homiliaries which Morin lists as H2, H19, H20, H74, Z23. The Morgan mss M 17 assigns this sermon to St. Jerome.

[15] The twenty-seven compositions making up the mss are listed by B. M. Peebles, "An Early Latin Homiliary in the Morgan Library," *Revue Bénédictine,* 61 (1951), 261-64.

[16] In unpublished Notes, now in the Morgan Library. S. de Ricci-W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937), II, 1368, suggests the 7th or 8th century as the date of M 17.

"A SERMON MEETING THE REQUIREMENTS OF PARISHES"

(1) I ask of you, brethren, that we consider with great attention why we are christians and bear Christ's cross upon our foreheads.[1] For we ought to be aware that it is not enough for us that we have had the name of christian if we have not performed christian works, as the Lord Himself has said in the gospel: "Of what avail is it that you call me Lord, Lord, and do not practice the things that I say?"[2] If a thousand times over you speak of yourself as christian and sign yourself continually with the cross of Christ, yet have not given alms in accord with your ability and have refused to practice charity and justice and chastity, the christian name will serve you to no purpose. Mighty is the sign of Christ and therefore a great and precious thing should be signed with this most precious seal. What use is it to imprint a seal with a gold ring and to place rotting straw within? What good is it if we set the sign of Christ upon forehead and lips while we hide crimes and sins within the soul? For he who thinks evilly, speaks evilly, acts evilly, and refuses to mend his ways, increases his sin rather than lessens it when he crosses himself. For many there are who, should they stub their toe while on the way to a theft or adultery, bless themselves, yet do not turn aside from the evil deed; these unhappy souls are unaware that by the sign of the cross they rather bring demons into themselves than drive them forth.[3] But he who with God's help has tried to ward off vices

[1] As early as 211 A.D. the tracing of the cross upon the forehead was noted as a traditional rite by Tertullian; *De corona,* 3 (trans. *Ante-Nicene Fathers* [New York, 1926], III, 94-95): "At every forward step and movement, at every going in and out, when we put on our clothes and shoes, when we bathe, when we sit at table, when we light the lamps, on couch, on seat, in all the ordinary actions of daily life, we trace upon the forehead the sign of the cross (*frontem crucis signaculo terimus*)." In Caesarius' own day, catechumens preparing for baptism had their foreheads signed with the cross; cf. his *Sermon* 121, n. 8 (ed. Morin, I, 486).

[2] *Luke* 6, 46.

[3] The ease with which evil spirits were thought to take possession of men is reflected in the life of an abbess of Arles who died in 632, cf. *Vita Rusticulae,* 13 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum,* IV, 345-46), wherein a spirit informs the saint: "quia in fonte se posuerat, cum autem vellet bibere de aqua ipsa infelix ipse homo (the one possessed) et signum crucis ibidem minime fecisset, ita in eum fuisset ingressus spiritus malignus."

and sins, and has both endeavored to think upon and to do what is good, rightly sets the sign of the cross upon his lips, since he is striving to perform works which merit bearing the sign of Christ. And because it is written: "The Kingdom of God is not in word but in power," and again, "Faith without works is dead,"[4] let us give ourselves to good works, while remedy lies within our power, that we may bear the name of christian not to judgment but to succor.

(2) And that we may be able to do this with the aid of God, keep peace yourselves and call back to amity those who are at odds with one another. Flee lying, stand in fear of perjury as you would the devil's death, avoid false witness, have nothing to do with theft. Above all, as was said earlier, give alms to the poor in accord with your ability. Provide the offerings destined for consecration at the altar, since a man of means should blush if he has communicated from the oblation of some one else.[5] Let those who are able present either tapers or the oil which is used in the lamps. For your own part, have a firm grasp both of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and teach them to your children, for I cannot imagine how a man who neglects to memorize a few lines of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer can have the audacity to call himself a christian.[6] Know that you have made yourselves sureties before God of the children whom you have lifted from the baptismal font, and therefore always discipline and correct your own offspring and those whom you have taken from the font so

[4] Texts cited from *I Cor.* 4:20, and *James* 2:26.

[5] Caesarius repeats this prescription concerning the faithful's provision of Mass *oblata* in his *Sermons* 1, n. 12; 14, n. 3; 16, n. 2; 19, n. 4; 229, n. 4 (ed. Morin, I, 11, 69, 75, 86, 862). Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster, 1949), pp. 122-23, believes that Caesarius testifies to the western custom of the laity's making their gift of bread and wine at the offertory of the Mass. However, the Gallican usage in this period, noted by J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia* (French ed., 1951), I, 77, was to bring in the *oblata* before Mass, which is supported by the reference in Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, 64 (*MGH, SSrerMer.*, I, 786), to the offering of Mass wine made by a laywoman in the sacristy (*"in sacrario"*) of St. Mary's basilica, Lyons.

[6] The form of the Apostles' Creed known to Caesarius appears in his *Sermon* 9 (ed. Morin, I, 48) and in Morin's comments thereon in *Revue Bénédictine*, 46 (1934), 178-89.

that they may live chastely and justly and soberly.[7] So conduct yourselves that should your children imitate your example they will not along with you burn in fire but together with you come to eternal reward.[8] Let all who act as judges give just judgment and not take bribes against the innocent, lest perhaps they lose their souls while gaining money. For no one gets unjust gain without just loss; where there is gain of that type there is also loss: gain in the money-chest, loss in the conscience. Let no one drink until he is drunk, nor force another to imbibe to excess at his banquet, lest by drunkenness he destroy both his own and the other's soul.

(3) Sunday after Sunday come to church, for if the unfortunate Jews keep the sabbath with such devotion that thereon they refrain from secular labors, how much the more should christians on the Sunday devote themselves to God alone and for their souls' sake come to church?[9] When you are assembled in church, offer prayer on account of your sins; quarrel not, neither get involved in arguments nor give offense, for the man who thus behaves upon coming to church harms himself by quarreling there precisely where he could have been made well by praying. While standing in church, do not engage in chatter but listen quietly to the sacred lessons;[10] he who has prattled in church will have to

[7] Caesarius further develops the obligations of baptismal sponsors in his *Sermons* 71, n. 2; 130, n. 5; 229, n. 6 (ed. Morin, I, 288, 515, 865). The employment of sponsors in 5th century Gaul is testified to by Gennadius, *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*, 21 (ed. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, VII [1905], 93-94). Sponsors had been known at Rome at least by the early 3rd century; cf. St. Hippolytus, *The Apostolic Tradition*, xxi, 4 (ed. Dix, 1937, p. 33).

[8] Caesarius' teaching on a future life in Heaven, Hell or Purgatory is strikingly outlined in his *Sermon* 179 (ed. Morin, I, 684-89) which appears in translation and commentary in H. G. J. Beck, "A Sixth-Century Sermon on Sin," *AER*, 127, 5 (Nov., 1952), 321-29.

[9] Sunday worship in Caesarius' day frequently included a *Missa matutina* during the early morning and a *Missa publica* at 9 a.m. The Public Mass could last up to two hours; cf. the texts gathered in H. G. J. Beck, "A Note on the Frequency of Mass in Sixth-Century France," *AER*, 120, 6 (June, 1949), 480-85.

[10] From Caesarius, *Sermon* 78, n. 1 (ed. Morin, I, 309) it appears that though standing was the posture recommended for the readings at Mass and the Office, sitting (but not reclining) was tolerated in the case of those who found standing difficult. *Sermon* 76, nn. 1, 2 (*ibid.*, 302-303) indicates that

render account both for himself and for others since he has not harkened to the word of God nor allowed others to harken to it. Of your fruits give tithes to the churches.[11] Let him who has been proud be humble, him who was an adulterer be chaste, let him who was in the habit of stealing or of seizing the property of others begin now to give to the poor out of his own pocket. Let him who has been envious become kindly, long-suffering him who was quick to wrath. Let him who has done harm straightway seek forgiveness, him to whom harm was done quickly extend pardon. Whenever some infirmity occurs, let the sick man receive the Body and Blood of Christ,[12] in faith and humility seeking blessed oil from the priests and thence have his body anointed *(et inde corpusculum suum ungueat)*[13] so that in him the Scripture may

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kneeling or the inclination of the head was suggested when prayers were being said at the altar.

[11] The tithe is mentioned again by Caesarius in *Sermons* 1, n. 12; 10, n. 3 (ed. Morin, I, 12, 53) and is prescribed by the Council of Mâcon, 585, c. 5. Its early history has been traced by Paul Viard, *Histoire de la dîme ecclésiastique, principalement en France* . . . (Dijon, 1909), and by Catherine Boyd, "The Beginnings of the Ecclesiastical Tithe in Italy," *Speculum*, 21 (April, 1946), 158-72.

[12] Caesarius' *Sermon* 78, n. 2 (ed. Morin, I, 309-10) notes the care taken by the faithful lest the Eucharist fall to the ground. In his day, the Host was received by the men on their uncovered hand, by the women on a white cloth called the *dominicalis;* cf. his *Sermon* 227, n. 5 (*ibid.*, 854), with the Council of Auxerre, 573-603, c. 42 (*MGH, Concilia*, I, 183).

[13] In addition to this passage, Caesarius treats of the sacramental anointing of the sick in *Sermons* 19, n. 5; 50, n. 1; 52, n. 5; 184, n. 5 (ed. Morin, I, 87, 216, 222, 710); all five texts are considered in H. G. J. Beck, *The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France during the Sixth Century* (Rome, 1950), pp. 243-49, which takes the *"ungueat"* of the present passage as suggesting that the sick man get himself anointed. Joseph Kern, *De sacramento extremae unctionis tractatus dogmaticus* (Regensburg, 1907), p. 33, is of the same mind and proposes that *"ungueat"* really means *"ungifaciat"* ("make his body be anointed"). Opposed to this interpretation is the view of A. Chavasse, *Étude sur l'onction des infirmes dans l'Eglise latine* (Lyons, 1942), I, 111, and of F. W. Puller, *The Anointing of the Sick in Scripture and Tradition* (2nd ed., London, 1910), p. 69, who think of the anointing as carried out by the sick person himself. But J. B. Bord, *L'extreme onction* (Bruges, 1923), p. 111, has rightly noted that Caesarius' citing of the text from St. James, which clearly makes priests the ministers of the unction, shows that he must have been thinking of clerical application of the blessed oil. This is particularly evident in *Sermon* 19, n. 5. B. Poschmann, *Busse und Letzte Oelung* (in Schmaus-Geiselmann-

be fulfilled: "Is anyone sick? Let him bring in the priests and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, and the prayer of faith will save the sick man and the Lord will raise him up, and if he be in sins, they will be forgiven him."[14] Observe, brethren, that he who hastens to church in sickness will deserve to receive health of body and to obtain pardon of sins. Since, then, we can find this two-fold benefit in church, why do benighted men seek to bring upon themselves a multitude of evils by means of magicians, springs and trees and devilish phylacteries, enchanters and soothsayers, diviners and fortune-tellers?[15]

(4) As we said before, always admonish your children and all your families to live chastely and justly and soberly; urge them to good works not by words alone but by example as well. Above all, wherever you are, whether at home or abroad, at feast or at gathering, avoid foul and licentious language; instead, constantly counsel your neighbors and relatives that they ever strive to speak what is honest and good, lest perchance by way of detraction, evil talk, off-color and suggestive songs, they wound themselves through that very tongue whereby they were meant to glorify God. Unhappy and benighted are they who know neither fear nor shame at dancing or prancing before the basilicas of the saints themselves,[16] and if they are christians upon their coming to church, they are pagans upon returning, because this custom of dancing has been carried over from pagan usage. Consider, now, what kind of christian he is who came to church to pray and, setting prayer aside, has not been abashed at uttering the evil words of pagans. Consider, further, brethren, whether it is fitting that from the

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Rahner, *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte,* IV, fasc. 3, Freiburg, 1951), 129-30, suggests that the custom in Caesarius' day was for priests to anoint in the more serious illnesses, with the faithful applying the oil themselves in less grave cases.

[14] *James* 5:14, 15.

[15] A. Chavasse, *Étude sur l'onction des infirmes,* I, 107, lists other instances of early mediaeval bishops who counsel a sacred unction as an antidote for pagan rites for the sick.

[16] Dancing in connection with the saints' festivals is further censured by Caesarius in his *Sermons* 1, n. 12; 55, n. 2; 225, n. 5 (ed. Morin, I, 11, 231, 845). St. Augustine, *Sermon* 311, nn. 5, 6 (*MPL* 38, 1415-16) makes mention of the same abuse at St. Cyprian's tomb, near Carthage. The activity which filled a saint's day in 5th century Arles is graphically depicted in the anonymous *De miraculo s. Genesii* (*MPL* 50, 1273-76).

lips of a christian, through which the Body of Christ enters, there should flow forth licentious singing like the devil's venom. Above all, whatever you would have others do to you, this do to them; whatever you would not have done to you, neither do to any other.[17] Which practice, if it be kept, will free your souls from sin, for even illiterate men can and should memorize these two lines and with God's help put them into use.

(5) And though I believe that by your chastisements, under God's guidance, that horrid custom carrying over from the unholy practice of the pagans has been banished from these regions, nonetheless if you find that there are still some who keep to the detestable abomination of the year-old calf or stag, discipline them vigorously enough to make them repent for having perpetrated the impiety.[18] And if you know that there are some who still raise a cry when the moon is hidden, admonish them, pointing out how serious a sin they commit by impiously relying upon their shouting and spells to protect them at those times when, by God's ordinance, the moon is shrouded. And if you see folk continuing to wish at wells or at trees and, as said earlier, still seeking out magicians, diviners and soothsayers, and hanging the phylacteries of the devil,[19] or amulets, or herbs or bits of amber, upon themselves or

[17] The negative form of the Golden Rule (*Matt.* 7:12) can be traced to the *Didache*, 1, 2 (*Ancient Christian Writers*, VI, 15).

[18] Dressing in the guise of a stag appears as a Jan. 1st mummery in Caesarius, *Sermon* 192, n. 2 (ed. Morin, I, 739). Considerable light upon the survival of pagan customs is shed by the Arles prelate in *Sermons* 14, n. 4; 19, n. 4; 50, n. 1; 51, nn. 1, 4; 52, nn. 2, 3; 53; 54; 184, n. 4; 192; 193. Since Gallic synods, v.g., Conc. Orleans, 511 A.D., c. 30 (*MGH, Concilia*, I, 9); Conc. Orleans, 533, c. 20 (*ibid.*, p. 64); Conc. Orleans, 541, cc. 15, 16 (*ibid.*, p. 90); Conc. Tours, 567, c. 23 (*ibid.*, p. 133); Conc. Auxerre, 573-603, c. 1 (*ibid.*, p. 179), legislate against these pagan usages all through the sixth century, the difficulty must have been serious enough. Modern accounts of the problem appear in E. Vacandard, "L'idolatrie en Gaule au VI^e^ et au VII^e^ siècle," *Revue des questions historiques*, 65 (1899), 424-54; H. Leclercq, "Gallicane (Église)," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, VI (1924), cc. 430-33; É. Mâle, *La fin du paganisme en Gaule* (Paris, 1950), pp. 54-61.

[19] Phylacteries of this kind sometimes contained Scripture verses and were, on occasion, fashioned by clerics; cf. the Noyon *Vita Elegii*, II, 15 (*MPL* 87, 528). From E. Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne* (Paris, 1952), II, 68, 82-83, 235, it appears that phylacteric devices still turn up in Merovingian tombs.

their families, reprimand them severely and tell them that all who indulge in these practices make void their baptismal promises *(perdit baptismi sacramentum)*.[20] And because we have heard that the devil has deluded certain men and women to the extent that the men will not work on Thursday nor the women weave, before God and His angels we give warning that all who have followed this practice will themselves be damned where the devil is to burn unless by long and arduous penance they make amends for so grave an impiety. For I doubt not that these unhappy and benighted folk who in Jove's honor will not work on Thursday,[21] have neither fear nor shame about laboring on the Lord's Day. And therefore, severely chastise those of this type whom you know, and if they have been unwilling to mend their ways, neither speak with them nor allow them place at your table. Should they be subject to your authority, use the lash as well, so that at least there may be fear of bodily stripes on the part of those who give no heed to their soul's salvation. For our part, beloved brethren, conscious of our own peril, we extend warning with all the solicitude of a father. If you harken well, not only will you give us joy, but you will joyfully get to heaven, which may He deign to grant who with the Father and[22] the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth world without end. Amen.

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[20] Caesarius, *Sermon* 12, n. 4 (ed. Morin, I, 59) regards the renunciation of Satan in baptism as a pact with God: "Consideret ergo unusquisque . . . quod in baptismi sacramento promisit; et quia pactum cum domino fecit, videat si eum ex nulla parte violavit. Quando enim interrogatus est, Abrenuntias diabolo, pompis et operibus eius?, tunc ei sacerdos subscribendum pactum obtulit; quando autem respondit, Abrenuntio, tunc subscripsit."

[21] This keeping of Thursday for Jove is noted by Caesarius in *Sermons* 19, n. 4; 52, n. 2 (ed. Morin, I, 86, 221).

[22] The Morgan mss M17 wrongly adds: *et filio.* Caesarius' teaching on the Trinity has been recently studied by Mark Dorenkemper, *The Trinitarian Doctrine and Sources of St. Caesarius of Arles* (Fribourg, 1953).

JOB IN THE NEW CONFRATERNITY VERSION

"Rabbi, who has sinned, this man or his parents, that he should be born blind?" This question which the disciples addressed to our Lord (*John* 9:2) reveals to us how thoroughly children of the Old Testament they were. They were still laboring under the incomplete and typically Hebrew philosophy of evil. In their question was the echo of Job's three friends, several of the Psalms, and many pages of their Scripture. It was a reverent and law-abiding solution to the problem: God's justice demands that affliction in this world be interpreted as a punishment for sin, and *vice versa,* prosperity was the mark of the man "who delights in the law of the Lord." There was no other way out, apparently, for a God-fearing thinker; since there was no clear revelation of a reward in the afterlife which could right the scales of justice that might have gone askew in this world, the problem was contained within man's lifetime. God had to punish and reward in this life. The free-thinker could have great sport with a theodicy that was so brilliantly contradicted by the facts of life; yet the view he could propose afforded dismal hope. The religious man might succeed in being charmed by the traditional view; it was so reasonable, so theologically pat. But more than one felt the inadequacy of this *apologia.* The religious thinker saw the facts: very often the just suffered and the evil prospered. Was he obliged to a blind faith in the traditional solution which left God's justice unimpaired? Was he to fly in the face of fact in order to justify the God of truth? The author of the book of *Job* took the bold step of contradicting the traditional theory; he did not dismiss it entirely, but once and for all he showed it to be incomplete and inadequate. Nor was his positive contribution the complete answer, but we shall see that it was a mighty stride forward in the development of Old Testament revelation.[1]

[1] This consideration of the book of *Job* is by way of calling attention to the new Confraternity of Christian Doctrine translation of the Old Testament Wisdom Books which is now coming off the presses. The book of *Job,* in particular, should find a warm welcome among those who puzzled over it in the Douay-Rheims version; the only purpose of these notes is to stimulate a re-reading of *Job* in its new English dress, by offering a description of the back-and-forth play of the dialogue.

The very tartness of his problem called for a different approach. He would present his view in a great debate, a magnificent dialogue, in which spokesmen for both sides would be represented, and Yahweh Himself was not to be without a voice. Perhaps in order to be as impersonal as possible, he chose a non-Israelite as the hero of his dialogue: Job from the land of Uz. Ezechiel (14:14,20) had known of this man, mentioning him along with Noah and Daniel. This sheikh of the desert, for Uz was situated somewhere in Arabia, south of Edom, was the ideal person for the author's purpose. Evidently, Job was identified in the popular mind as one who had undergone a great trial from the Almighty, and with great resignation. Let him be the protagonist, the questioner. On the other side, some compatriots of his could be lined up to answer him: Eliphaz from Theman, Baldad of Sue, and Sophar from Naama: men from the caravan cities of the Arabian desert. But these characters the author would control like chess pawns; he would advance the strongest arguments on both sides, but his own conviction would tip the scales against the three friends of Job.

Indeed, the author has clearly shown his hand in the very prologue to his book (1-2). Job, to begin with, is "perfect and upright." After the manner of a sheikh in patriarchal times, he has extensive possessions, and leads the religious celebrations of his family. The fifth verse sounds like a motif in an overture: "it may be that my children have sinned and blasphemed God in their hearts." It is to avoid punishments in this world that he propitiates God. Now the author switches to a scene going on in the Heavenly Court; it is a dramatic device which lets the reader in on the eventual answer to the problem. Yahweh recognizes Job's goodness and questions Satan about the man from Uz; did he ever see his like? The wily Satan is a realist: why should he not be God-fearing? But suppose he were to lose all his possessions, would he not curse Yahweh? Yahweh accepts the challenge. In climactic succession, all of Job's possessions are destroyed: animals, servants, homes and children.

> Naked I came forth from my mother's womb,
> and naked shall I go back again.
> The Lord gave and the Lord has taken away;
> blessed be the name of the Lord! (1:21)

This reaction of Job fully justified the confidence God had shown in him. Again the author switches to the Heavenly Court. Satan will not yet admit defeat:

> Skin for skin! All that a man has will he give for his life. But now put forth your hand and touch his bone and his flesh. . . . (2:4-5)

The second trial consists in some form of a skin disease which scars Job's entire body, but of which he says, "We accept good things from God; and should we not accept evil?" Thus he calmly accepts this terrible affliction. But there is worse in store for him: the sympathy of his friends.

For the rest of the story, the scene takes place at the *mazbelah*, a mound of dung and detritus, which would be the usual residence for a person so physically repulsive as Job. His friends observe the formalities (2:11-13) and the great debate opens. We would be unjust to the author if we refused to take the hint that this dialogue is *not* an historical event which transpired at some unknown *mazbelah*. Job, of course, was an historical character, whose reputation for goodness and courage in time of trial had come down the years. It is precisely a tribute to the author's genius that he chose this character as the foil for his presentation of the problem of evil. When Job speaks, he says what the author wants him to say; similarly with the Three, and a later arrival, Eliu, and even Yahweh, whose point of view represents the final judgment passed by the author on the problem of good and evil.

The dialogue is clearly divided into three cycles in which Job and one of the Three alternate in voicing their views: first cycle, 3-14; second cycle, 15-21; third cycle, 22-31. The third cycle is irregular in the text that has come down to us, but with some measure of probability it can be restored in the fashion suggested below.

FIRST CYCLE, 3-14

Job opens with a powerful lament that he was ever born. In a series of repetitious but far from monotonous verses, he curses the day of his birth:

> Perish the day on which I was born,
> the night when they said, "the child is a boy!"
> May that day be darkness:
> let not God above call for it nor light shine upon it! (3:3-4)

If he had been fortunate enough not to issue alive from the womb, he would have at least experienced the desolate rest of the inhabitants of the nether world, Sheol. The nether world is the great leveler, embracing all, from still-born babes to kings, small and great, in its gloomy confines. Why should the wretched be prolonged in life, like himself, to whom sighing comes more readily than food?

Eliphaz, perhaps the senior of the group, undertakes the reply (4:1 ff.) There is an unmistakable air of reality which the author has given to the dialogue; the careful reader immediately feels how tense the situation has become. The approach of Eliphaz is diffident, tactful. He reminds Job of occasions in the past when he himself consoled the afflicted; now when he is suffering, dismay and weariness have overcome him. Yet, let Job not forget the basic principle:

> Is not your piety a source of confidence,
> and your integrity of life your hope?
> Reflect now, what innocent person perishes?
> Since when are the upright destroyed? (4:6-7)

To lend due solemnity to his words, he speaks of a nocturnal vision he received. The message is particularly applicable to the sorely tried man; surely it should not be too difficult for Job to admit that he is a sinner and is only suffering just punishment:

> Can a man be righteous as against God?
> Can a man be blameless against his Maker?
> Lo, he puts no trust in his servants
> and with his angels he can find fault.
> How much more with those that dwell in houses of clay,
> whose foundation is in the dust,
> who are crushed more easily than the moth! (4:17-19)

Let Job ponder these truths and turn to God who punishes the crafty and wicked and rescues the poor and the lowly. He should accept his condition:

> Happy is the man whom God reproves!
> The Almighty's chastening do not reject. (5:17)

Since God is the author of both affliction and weal, Job can look forward to prosperity.

Job's reply is that he alone appreciates how miserable he really is. Weighed against the sands of the sea, his calamity is far greater. In a beautiful passage which well expresses the confidence he has in himself and in his cause, he complains that he just has no more strength:

> Even that God would decide to crush me,
> that he would put forth his hand and cut me off!
> Then I should still have consolation
> and could exult through unremitting pain,
> because I have not transgressed the commands of the Holy One.
> What strength have I that I should endure?
> and what is my limit that I should be patient? (6:9-11)

As for the Three, their proffered consolation is quite shallow; they are like the promising wadi-bed which confronts the thirsty traveller—dried up. He challenges them (6:24) to find sin in him (sinfulness that would justify this extreme affliction). Life is extremely hard, and short, too, with nothing but Sheol lying beyond it. Why must the Almighty be concerned with one so insignificant as Job? He is not a monster, such as the old legends describe, that God would have to cage. As for *Psalm* 8 and *Psalm* 139, which extol man's greatness and God's providence over him (7:17 ff.), what irony! God will not even look away from Job long enough for him to swallow his spittle! Even if Job had sinned (7:20), how could this have hurt God—the Spy!

Baldad pounces on what he considers extreme and exaggerated in Job's final words. God cannot pervert judgment (8:3), so Job's picture of the spy is out of order. Far from God seeking Job, let Job seek God if he is so upright and God will reward him with even greater prosperity (8:5-7). Then he borrows from the teaching of the ancients their description of the working of the principle of retribution; it is as inexorable as a law of nature.

To Baldad's invitation to appeal to God, Job replies with high irony (9:1 ff.). The knowledge and power of God overwhelm anyone, particularly Job himself, who would try to contend with Him. He explosively denies the traditional explanation and continues in extreme language:

> It is all one! Therefore I say:
> the innocent and the wicked he destroys!

When the scourge slays suddenly,
he laughs at the despair of the innocent.
The earth is given into the hands of the wicked;
he covers the faces of its judges.
If it is not he, who then is it? (9:22-24)

Nevertheless, in the tenth chapter Job does launch into an appeal: why does not God show himself more long-suffering than mortal man? Despite His Providence watching over man's creation, He is ever alert to trap man in his sin, to hunt him out like a lion. He closes this vivid and exaggerated appeal with an old lament—if only he had not been born! And these few days of life which are to end with departure into the dank realms of Sheol—could they not be allowed to be cheerful?

If any restraint held back the three friends up to this point, it is gone now. Sophar resents Job's words as mere talk. Job claims to be just? The wisdom and knowledge of God answer that claim and brand it as false. God knows everything and sees Job's guilt. In words that are directly pointed at Job, he describes the happiness that will come to him if he repents. Job is more than willing to debate with Sophar on the wisdom of God. With biting sarcasm he begins:

No doubt you are the intelligent folk,
and with you wisdom shall die! (12:2)

What kind of wisdom is it to see the just man made a laughingstock while the tents of robbers are prosperous? Even the dumb beasts know that this is God's order of things. He is the cause of all and so cannot escape the evident imputation Job wishes to make. As this first cycle draws to a close, Job castigates the Three severely. Their alleged wisdom is foolishness; their very blindness to facts is an insult to God:

Is it for God that you speak falsehood?
is it for him that you utter deceit? (13:7)

Job refuses to take this way out which they have adopted; he will be honest with God and face up to him:

I will carry my flesh between my teeth
and take my life in my hand.
Slay me though he might, I will wait for him;
I will defend my conduct before him.
And this shall be my salvation,
that no impious man can come into his presence. (13:14-16)

Job seems to have derived strength from this attack upon his friends. He challenges God to make known his transgressions and questions His treatment of himself (13:23-27). In the fourteenth chapter he returns to a complaint he has raised before: why does God bother with mortal man whose days are numbered, who marches inexorably toward death?

SECOND CYCLE, 15-21

Job's intemperate language has shocked the venerable Eliphaz; such wild utterances betray his wickedness. Job acts as one omniscient; but let him listen to the voice of their forefathers. So Eliphaz describes the typical fate of an impious man (15:20-35).

"I have heard this sort of thing many times," replies Job, and he begins an exaggerated description of their opposition to him (16:7 ff.). Even this is God's doing; He has delivered Job into their clutches. But Job's consciousness of his innocence prompts him to make another appeal to God. He is, as it were, a man slain, whose blood cries to God, whose voice will reach the Almighty:

> O earth, cover not my blood,
> nor let my outcry come to rest!
> Even now, behold, my witness is in heaven,
> and my spokesman is on high. (16:18-19)

This is one of the several acts of trusting faith in God which Job allows to escape from his mouth. In the seventeenth chapter he rails at the foolishness, the blindness, which passes for wisdom with the Three. They have no true sympathy and utterly fail to understand his situation, seeing everything black and white, never gray (Sophar in 11:17; cf. 8:6-7; 5:17-26).

> Such men change the night into day;
> where there is darkness they talk of approaching light. (17:12)

Job's reaction is filled with caustic despair:

> If I look for the nether world as my dwelling,
> if I spread my couch in the darkness,
> If I must call corruption "my father,"
> and the maggot "my mother" and "my sister,"
> Where then is my hope? (17:13-15a)

The barbs of the sufferer have not been without their sting. Baldad resents the comparison to dumb animals (cc. 12, 16); but

Job's anger is not going to change things. Baldad solemnly proclaims, almost as if Job had never heard it before, that the wicked man shall certainly come to ruin (c. 18).

With chapter nineteen we come to the high point in the dialogue. Grant, for the sake of argument, that I am at fault, Job says, but look at the way God has treated me—like an enemy, with troops marshalled against me. And Job stands alone, abandoned by his friends, his family. Conscious of his isolation and abandonment, he makes a tremendous act of faith; he won't believe that his Vindicator will fail to intervene:

> But as for me, I know that my Vindicator lives,
> and that he will at last stand forth upon the dust
> When I myself shall see, and not another—
> and from my flesh I shall see God;
> my inmost being is consumed with longing. (19:25-27)[2]

Job's great text is apparently lost on Sophar; he is moved only by the final verses (19:28-29) which contain a threat for the Three. His reply (20:1 ff.) is the cold, logical presentation of the traditional theory: from the beginning of time it was ever so that the

[2] This text is one of the most difficult in the Old Testament; it is truly ambiguous and several interpretations are possible. The traditional interpretation, under the influence of St. Jerome's translation, sees here a reference to bodily resurrection, when Job shall be vindicated. The serious objection to this view is that if Job believed this, he had the answer to all the problems which afflicted him. If there is a righting of wrong in the next world, the problem of evil in this world has a solution. But in the rest of the dialogue there is no reference to this solution; throughout the entire book Job's vision is always limited by this world. Another interpretation holds that Job is speaking of a restoration to prosperity and health in this life; God will intervene. Since, in the epilogue of the book, God does intervene, it seems that the author has Job make an act of faith in what will be the solution. But this view is not satisfactory either. The parallelism with the theophany in cc. 38 ff. is deceptive; God does not *vindicate* Job in the final scene; He reduces him to embarrassed silence before His majesty and power. Moreover, why would he desire that his words be written down, perpetuated by a rock inscription, if he was to be vindicated in this life? Such words indicate that he wanted some protestation of his innocence to be left after his demise. Throughout the rest of the dialogue Job continues his complaint, stressing his hopeless case; his last words defy God (31:35). This could not be if he foresaw vindication and restoration in this life.

The writer is inclined to accept the traditional interpretation (apart from the inference of bodily resurrection) in the sense that Job does make an act

prosperity of the wicked man will end in sadness and affliction. Job answers (21:1 ff.) with a flat contradiction of the unreal picture drawn by Sophar. The fact is that the wicked have everything and God does not bother them. They die as prosperously as they live, and small consolation it is that the divine justice should wreak punishment on their descendants and not upon the wicked themselves.

THIRD CYCLE, 22-27/28[3]

Eliphaz begins the third cycle with the observation that it is of no advantage to the Almighty that man is just, but He must punish sin. He then puts forth a catalogue of Job's sins (22:6-9) and even compares his conduct to the "ancient way" of those men who were destroyed in the deluge. But all this can be changed if Job

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of faith in the hereafter; after his death God will intervene and vindicate him. It is an act of faith in God, in which he expresses his unwillingness to set God down as unjust. The logic of his situation demands that he trust God to right the wrong when he is dead; his innocence calls for his vision of divine vindication—since it cannot be in this world, then it is in the next. It is a single act of faith, the most sublime height reached by Job in the entire book—but it has no effect on his conduct. It is, as it were, a brash thought; he cannot be satisfied with it; in a moment of weakness, his piety and reverence for God drives him to this unheard-of statement. But he does not know; he cannot expect that, and he lapses back into the querulousness to which his knowledge of the next world limits him. It is almost as if he never said it.

[3] As the Masoretic text stands, 22-28 is to be divided thus:

22—Eliphaz
23, 24—Job
25—Baldad
26, 27, 28—Job

This is certainly mistaken, since it would put into the mouth of Job a defense of the traditional theory which he could not possibly have uttered. Besides, no room is left for Sophar to appear. No matter how conjectural are the attempts of scholars to rearrange the discourse in these chapters, the MT is faulty. The CCD translation follows the least confusing method. The lines blocked off by asterisks indicate sections that clearly cannot be ascribed to Job. It is suggested that the reader understand this section thus:

22—Eliphaz
23, 24—Job
25:1-6—Baldad
27:2-6—Job
27:7-21—Sophar
26, 28—Job

will but return to God. Job postpones a detailed reply to this accusation until chapter thirty-one; now he yearns (23:1 ff.) to plead with God directly at the judgment seat, where he might preserve his rights. Unfortunately, God remains inaccessible. Yet the Almighty knows Job's way: "my foot has always walked in his steps." The trouble lies in God's will: "what he desires, that he does." The divine indifference in the face of the many crimes perpetrated by the wicked is described in 24:1-17.[4] In the extremely short chapter twenty-five Baldad replies that in God's sight no man can be justified. If we read 27:2-6 at this point, it can be taken as Job's reply. He remains unflinching in his claim for personal innocence; the specious reasons of the Friends cannot force him to speak falsehood and to pretend he is guilty so as to save their short-sighted explanation of God's justice. Since Sophar is inexplicably absent from the cycle, it seems better to read 27:7-21 as spoken by him; they describe the catastrophic fate which awaits the wicked. Reading chapter twenty-six as Job's reply to the profuse advice given by Sophar, we may understand it as a majestic description of God's power which extends to Sheol and makes itself felt throughout the world. You can find precious metals in the earth, the poem tells us, but Wisdom you cannot attain to. It is known only to God and was operative in His creative work. However,

> the fear of the Lord is wisdom
> and avoiding evil is understanding. (28:28)

This final verse indicates that Job has wisdom, for it is a clear reference to 1:8 and 2:3 where Job himself is classified as "fearing God and avoiding evil."

JOB'S FINAL PLEA, 29-31

The cycle of discourses is terminated by a long *apologia* from Job. He ceases any further discussion with the Friends, addressing not a word to them, although quite conscious of their presence. He begins by recalling his former prosperity, when God watched over him. With delicate feeling he evokes those days of happiness and service, when he was "eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame" (29:15). Now all this has disappeared in his present affliction

[4] The MT of vv. 18-24 is quite corrupt; some scholars conjecture that they originally formed part of Baldad's speech in c. 25.

(30:1 ff.), when his "harp is turned to mourning" and his "reed pipe to sounds of weeping" (30:31). As we have seen, Eliphaz had listed Job's sins (22:6 ff.); in chapter thirty-one Job defends his innocence in a series of vivid imprecations: if he has committed any crime: impurity, lying, injustice—may he be punished. This is his last plea:

> Oh, that I had one to hear my case,
> and that my accuser would write out his indictment!
> Surely, I should wear it on my shoulder
> or put it on me like a diadem;
> Of all my steps I should give him an account;
> like a prince I should present myself before him.
> This is my final plea; let the Almighty answer me! (31:35-37)

ELIU, 32-37

In the Old Testament there is no lack of young men who, characteristically, wave aside the graybeards in an effort to have a job done rightly. David knew better than Saul, Joab than Abner, Giezi than Eliseus. Eliu knows better than the Three. With all the fire of youth, he interrupts[5] the dialogue, utterly dissatisfied with the success Job has had against the Friends; Job is wrong because he thinks himself to be in the right rather than God; the Three are at fault because of their pitiable defense of God (32:2-3). Impatient and impulsive, he boasts of the superior wisdom he is to impart. In the thirty-third chapter he challenges Job; his language is bombastic but his role in the dialogue is meant to be a serious one. He scores the presumption of Job; how could he claim to be innocent (8-11)? God is greater than man! This does not mean He is indifferent. No, He speaks to man by visions, by suffering itself; when man admits his guilt he is restored by the Almighty. To the Three (34:2-4), Eliu professes to show how Job is to be answered. Job, he points out, claimed that God was unjust, that man's innocence avails nothing in God's eyes. This is impossible; as Creator, He watches over all things. Being Almighty, He

[5] Eliu's "interruption" and general role in the book of *Job* seem highly questionable to several scholars, e.g., most recently, Fr. Stier in *Das Buch Ijjob* (München: Kosel, 1954), pp. 239-44. The sudden introduction of Eliu, the absence of any reference to him in the epilogue, and his failure to say much more than the Three are puzzling, if Eliu was part of the *dramatis personae* from the beginning.

need not fear, and will show no partiality; His omniscience allows no evil to go unnoticed. By his impious statements, Job has added rebellion to his sins.

In the thirty-fifth chapter he continues to quote Job's words against him. Did Job not say that it mattered not in God's eyes if he sinned, that this did not touch God? It is true that one's sin or virtue does not touch God, but it afflicts mankind. When humans cry out, it is only their pride which will keep God from intervening (35:12).

Eliu now passes on, after his customary egotistic claims (36:2-4), to explain why God afflicts men. The basic principle is His justice to both the good and the bad. The wicked He punishes in order to turn them from their pride, that He may reward them with happiness; if they do not hearken to Him, they perish justly. Eliu then launches into a glorious hymn in praise of God's Might and Wisdom (36:22-27:13). He ranges through the phenomena of nature: rain, clouds, thunder (God's "voice"), and lightning, rain, snow. Let Job contemplate these things and understand:

> The Almighty! we cannot discover him,
> pre-eminent in power and judgment;
> his great justice owes no one an accounting.
> Therefore men revere him,
> though none can see him, however wise their hearts. (37:23-24)

For all the importance Eliu attributes to himself and his words, he only repeats the arguments of the Three and really sheds little light on the problem. But perhaps his role can be appreciated in the light of what Yahweh is going to say later on; he rather sets the stage, disposing Job (who never answers him!) to accept the decisions of Yahweh. He has not quite the same grist as the Three; he does not belabor the fact (though he believes it) that Job's affliction is a punishment for sin. More supple than his elders, he can see a medicinal character, an educative value, in Job's trial, and he is particularly anxious to correct a proud tendency in Job to set himself up as the judge of God.

YAHWEH, 38-42

As with most of the theophanies in the Old Testament, so here Yahweh appears in a storm. Has Job questioned God? God challenges him: "Gird your loins now like a man!" Let Job ponder

the wisdom of God in the creation and ruling of the world. There follows a description of the creation and operation of the heavens, the earth, the waters, light, the Abyss, Sheol, snow, lightning, flood and rain, and the animal world (cc. 38-39). This magnificent poetry is pointed at Job: "where were you when I founded the earth? . . ." As Yahweh passes from one example to another, we can imagine Job dissolving into the earth. At the end of His speech, He taunts Job; what has he to say? That "just" man is utterly confused, "I put my hand over my mouth. . . ." Yahweh begins again (40:6 ff.), emphasizing divine omnipotence. There is the famous and vivid description of Behemoth and Leviathan; while man is unable to cope with them, God controls them. Job admits defeat, humbling himself before the mysterious designs of Providence:

> I have dealt with great things that I do not understand;
> things too wonderful for me, which I cannot know.
> I had heard of you by word of mouth,
> but now my eye has seen you.
> Therefore I disown what I have said,
> and repent in dust and ashes. (42:3-6)

This is not an admission that the Friends were right, after all; but Job realizes he has gone too far in questioning God. This is clear from the epilogue (42:7-17). The three friends are condemned by God, whereas Job is commended in strong terms; they spoke not right concerning God, whereas Job did. If Job prays for them, God will spare them on account of the prayer of His servant. What a far cry this, from the apparently blasphemous role of Job in the dialogue and the pious, self-justifying phrases of his friends! As for Job, he receives the typical reward of the just man, restored to twice the degree of prosperity he had enjoyed before his trial.

It is evident that Yahweh's discourse does not provide a neat, pat solution to Job's problem. The reply adds up to this: you are questioning things beyond human intelligence; man should humble himself before the mysterious designs of God. This solution to the problem of evil is essentially a negative one, but it marks an important step in the progress of Old Testament thought, because it points up the short-sightedness and limitations of the traditional teaching. God's approval of Job in the epilogue may surprise the

reader who has carefully noted Job's apparently blasphemous language. But God's judgment has gone deeper. He has seen Job's courage, his seeking after the truth, his refusal to compromise God's glory by adhering to a theory which did little credit to Him. Job's blameworthy defiance has been sufficiently condemned in the discourses delivered by Yahweh. Some commentators have objected that the restoration of Job to prosperity belies the thesis of the book. His riches are now twice what they were; thus it looks like a justification of the theory of the Three, who had promised something of this sort to Job. But one must remember that the heart of the traditional theory was the connection between sin and punishment—it is this that Job attacks, but he would not deny that God also rewards.

As a piece of literature, *Job* is comparable to the masterpieces in any language. It is rich in psychological detail, in religious feeling and in descriptions of nature—all this told with the charm of a folk tale. Perhaps the most brilliant single achievement is the psychological description of Job through the ups and downs of the dialogue; his despair, his impatience, his rushing acts of faith and hope, the appeals for pity, the contrast with the former days, bitterness, revolt—there are many hues and colors to this man, and he has much to offer to modern hearts that are afflicted with suffering as acute as his own.

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WHAT LUTHER DID NOT READ

Recently there appeared a movie entitled *Martin Luther*. In it the leading character was depicted as making the great discovery of justification by faith alone.[1] Very few Protestants cling to that view today.[2] The faith which Luther preached was fiducial, and he taught its adequacy because he held that sin was never remitted.[3]

To do so he had to shut his eyes to many a clear passage in Holy Writ. In Romans[4] we read, "For just as by the disobedience of the one man many were *constituted* sinners, so also by the obedience of the one many will be *constituted* just" (*Rom.* 5:19).

When St. John the Baptist saw the Messias, he exclaimed, "Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world" (*John* 1:29). Our Lord informed the paralytic, "Thy sins are forgiven thee" (*Matt.* 9:2); just as God in the Old Testament assured David, "The Lord also has taken away thy sin" (*II Kings* 12:13).

[1] There is no text in Scripture which states that justification is due to faith alone. Luther made a text by falsifying *Rom.* 3:28, "for we reckon that a man is justified by faith independently of the works of the Law." His translation was, *"So halten wir es nun, dass mensch gerecht werde durch den glauben."* As Joseph Pohle expresses it, "It is well known that Luther in his German translation of the Bible falsified *Rom.* 3:28 by interpolating the word 'alone' (by faith *alone*) and to his critics gave the famous answer: 'Dr. Martin Luther wants it that way and says, Papist and ass are the same things: *Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas'*" (*Catholic Encyclopedia,* VIII, 575).

[2] Among them we may mention a few. "The Scriptures thus record that Abraham attained by faith unto righteousness and imply that he was justified by faith since he was not justified by works" (Lewis Sperry Chafer in *Bibliolica sacra,* XCII [1936], 138). "Protestantism follows St. Paul in representing the Christian as freed from the law and removed from all questions of merit, being justified by faith alone" (Robert S. Franks, *The Atonement* [London, 1934], p. 89). And of course we have Emil Brunner, a rather close follower of Luther: "The triumph of the Gospel means justification by faith alone" (*The Divine Imperative* [London, 1937], p. 64).

[3] For an excellent study of Luther's progress, if we may use the word, toward Protestantism, see F. J. Zwierlein, *Reformation Studies* (Rochester, N. Y., 1938), pp. 1-23.

[4] Where Luther found, or rather adulterated, his text.

Sin in Holy Scripture is frequently called a blot or stain on the soul. But the inspired writers assert that this blot is removed, cleansed, purified. "You have been washed, you have been sanctified, you have been justified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the spirit of our God" (*I Cor.* 6:11). Psalm 50, David's prayer, is frequently on the lips of sinners, "Cleanse me of sin with hyssop, that I may be purified; wash me and I shall be whiter than snow" (v. 9).

Certainly no one knew the divine truths preached by our Saviour better than the Beloved Disciple. To the early Christians he wrote, "But if we walk in the light as he also is in the light, we have fellowship with one another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanses us from sin. . . . If we acknowledge our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive our sins and to cleanse us from all iniquity" (*I John* 1:7, 9).

God has told us that our sins are removed, are cast into the depths of the sea, have ceased to exist, "So also was Christ offered once to take away the sins of many" (*Heb.* 9:28). "As far as the east is from the west, so far has he removed our iniquities from us" (*Psalm* 102:12). "He will turn again, and have mercy on us: he will put away our iniquities: and he will cast all our sins into the bottom of the sea" (*Mich.* 7:19).

These are the first set of quotations from Holy Writ which Luther overlooked. The second are those which state that salvation is due to many dispositions besides faith.

Faith, of course, is absolutely necessary. As the Apostle of the Gentiles tells us, "Without faith it is impossible to please God. For he who comes to God must believe that God exists and is a rewarder to those who seek him" (*Heb.* 11:6). And the Council of Trent teaches, "Faith is the beginning of salvation, the foundation and root of all justification" (*DB* 801).

In support of the Catholic doctrine of the necessity of good works, one might cite St. James, who assures his readers that faith without works is dead. However, since Luther denies the canonicity of James, we shall be content to cite other portions of the New Testament.[5]

[5] On the canonicity of St. James, see J. Chaine, *L'épitre de Saint Jacques* (Paris, 1927), pp. xx-xxvii; and J. E. Steinmueller, *A Companion to Scripture Studies,* III (New York, 1943), 360 ff.

First will be St. Paul, Luther's favorite. According to the Apostle, "It is not they who hear the Law that are just in the sight of God; but it is they who *follow* the Law that will be justified" (*Rom.* 2:13). St. Paul here is only echoing the teaching of Christ Himself who proclaimed that "Not all who say to me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he who does the will of my Father in heaven shall enter into the kingdom of heaven" (*Matt.* 7:21). To the young man who inquired how he might attain "eternal life," the briefest of brief answers was given, "Keep the commandments" (*Matt.* 19:17).

Just before His ascension, Our Lord commanded His apostles to instruct the faithful to *observe* all that he had commanded them (*Matt.* 28:20).

THE NECESSITY OF BAPTISM

"He who believes *and is baptized* shall be saved" (*Matt.* 16:16). Faith is essential; it is the first, but certainly not the last step towards salvation.

Baptism is necessary, but Baptism coupled with repentance. Touched by St. Peter's discourse on the first Pentecost, hearers asked "Peter and the rest of the apostles, 'Brethren, what shall we do?' But Peter said to them, '*Repent* and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins'" (*Acts* 2:38). Taking the occasion of the amazement of the people when he cured the lame beggar, the Prince of the Apostles repeated the same injunction, "Repent, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out" (*Acts* 3:19).

This brings us to the subject of repentance. The founder of Lutheranism had a low view of attrition. "This," he states, "makes a man a hypocrite, even more of a sinner." . . . "The more penitents are agitated by the fear of punishment and the pain of loss, the more they sin and are affected by their sins, which they are forced against their will to hate."[6]

Now it is quite worth while to note a few details in the parable of the prodigal son. What motive impelled this wastrel to return to his father's house? Was it remorse for his base ingratitude? Not at all. That emotion would arise later when he would be restored to his former state. "How many men in my father's house have

[6] Luther, *De poenitentia*, 2.

bread in abundance and I am perishing here with hunger! I will get up and go to my father, and will say to him, Father I have sinned against heaven and before thee. I am no longer worthy to be called thy son; make me as one of thy hired men" (*Luke* 15:17-20).

Not very lofty sentiments these, to be sure. He starts on the painful road back. "But while he was a long way off, his father saw him and was moved to compassion, and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him" (v. 21). The son is home, that is all that matters. "Fetch quickly the best robe and give him a ring for his finger, and sandals for his feet" (v. 22).

The best robe! Such as is worn by the upper classes.[7] "Give him a ring for his finger." Rings among the Jews were for free men only.[8]

Social security this prodigal sought and obtained. God, our heavenly Father, is quite willing for us to act on a motive of supernatural social security. This, as we have seen, Luther denied.

On this point, the former professor at Wittenburg is at variance with the explicit teaching of Christ. He appealed to fear of hell as a deterrent to mortal sin. "Do not be afraid of those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul. But rather be afraid of him who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell" (*Matt.* 10:28). "If thy right eye is an occasion of sin to thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee; for it is better for thee that one of thy members should perish than that thy whole body should be thrown into hell. And if thy right hand is an occasion of sin to thee, cut it off and cast it from thee; for it is better for thee that one of thy members should be lost than that thy whole body should go into hell" (*Matt.* 5:29-31).[9]

[7] St. John, who wrote many years after the event, is struck by one incident which preceded the washing of the feet (13:4). Our Lord "laid aside his (outer) garments," (ἱμάτια). Lagrange says that this word designates festive garments in opposition to the dress of servants.

[8] When Pharaoh made Joseph ruler of the land, "he took his ring from his own hand, and gave it into his hand" (*Gen.* 41:42; see also *III Kings* 21:8; *Esther* 3:10, 8:2; *Isaias* 3:21).

[9] Our Lord here employs Semitic imagery. A man with only one eye or with only one hand can commit sin. The meaning is this: if to avoid mortal sin is as painful to you as to lose an eye or an arm, do not shrink from the pain. Avoid mortal sin at all costs.

In this and on all other doctrinal matters, the Catholic Church follows the teaching of the Divine Master. The Council of Trent declares, "This imperfect contrition, which is called attrition, since commonly (ordinarily) it is conceived from the consideration of the baseness of sin or from the fear of hell and penalties, if it excludes the will to sin together with hope of pardon" [the Council] "declares does not make a man a hypocrite and more of a sinner,[10] but is a gift of God and an impulse of the Holy Spirit, not of course as yet inhabiting but moving, by the aid of which the penitent prepares for himself the way to justice."[11]

With this attrition, by the sacrament of Penance a sinner may become a saint. On the subject of saints and sinners, it is strange that Luther was not struck by the vividness of Our Lord's description of the last judgment, "Come, blessed of my Father, take possession of the kingdom which I prepared for you from the foundation of the world, *for* [this word is very important] I was hungry and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in; naked and you covered me; sick and you visited me; I was in prison and you came to me" (*Matt.* 25-27).[12]

"The Son of Man," He tells us, "is to come with his angels in the glory of his Father, and then he will render to every man according to his conduct" (*Matt.* 16:27). Heaven is entered through the door of good works.

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[10] This decree is clearly directed against Luther.

[11] *DB* 898. The sinner goes to confession, receives sanctifying grace, and becomes once more a beloved son of his Heavenly Father. "There will be joy among the angels of God over one sinner who repents" (*Luke* 15:10). These words are found just before the parable of the prodigal son.

[12] Of course Our Lord does not say that our eternal reward is based exclusively on works of charity. He is here insisting on a virtue unknown to paganism. Homes for the aged, the destitute, and the orphans are a Christian heritage.

VON HÜGEL AND ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY

Twice recently the American Catholic reading public has been given extravagantly laudatory accounts of Baron Friedrich von Hügel, a Catholic lecturer and writer who died in England, his adopted homeland, thirty years ago. One of these was contained in the biography of Von Hügel, written by the English Catholic editor Michael de la Bedoyère and published in 1951.[1] The other is found in the Preface, the Foreword, and the Introduction to a new edition of the *Letters from Baron Friedrich von Hügel to a Niece,* a collection first published in 1928 and re-issued early this year.[2] The Preface, by the well-known Paulist editor, Fr. John B. Sheerin, and the Foreword, by De la Bedoyère, were both written for this new edition of the *Letters.* The Introduction, by Gwendolen Plunket Greene, the niece to whom the letters in this collection were originally addressed, is that of the original 1928 edition.

De la Bedoyère, in his Foreword, goes so far as to designate Von Hügel as a "saint." He tells us that "The old saint, for all his learning, always retained the personal simplicity of a child."[3] He also claims "that few are more competent to help us all [to recover the lost treasure of man's spiritual destiny] than this prophet of our own times, Friedrich von Hügel."[4]

Incidentally his biographer was not the first to speak of Von Hügel in this fashion. Maude Petre, the former nun who was certainly the most prominent lady Modernist, wrote shortly before her death: "And then he [Von Hügel] was truly holy, and, being holy, he was humble. He carried us all to the foot of the altar, and nothing came to us from him that had not been prepared by thought and prayer."[5]

[1] *The Life of Baron von Hügel,* by Michael de la Bedoyère (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1951). Henceforth in this article this book will be designated simply as *Life.*

[2] The original edition was published by Dent of London. The recent re-publication is by Henry Regnery Company, Chicago. Further references to this volume will designate it as the *Letters.*

[3] *Letters,* p. 11.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] M. D. Petre, *My Way of Faith* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1937), p. 256.

What Father Sheerin has to say about Von Hügel is much more important and much more influential, especially here in the United States, than anything written by Mr. De la Bedoyère or Miss Petre. And Father Sheerin asserts that, during the latter part of his life at least, Von Hügel was "a saintly and lovable old scholar." Indeed, he rises to such heights of adulation as to represent Von Hügel as "a Christ-like figure"[6] during the last years of his life. Again he makes the absolute claim that "Certainly it can be said that no man has written so luminously as Friedrich von Hügel of the spiritual transfiguration that comes to a soul through the Mystical Body of Christ."[7]

Now when a person writes an Introduction (or a Preface or a Foreword) to a work written by someone else, it is generally expected that he will be somewhat lavish and uncritical in his praise of the book to which he has contributed the *proemium* and of its author. Likewise we are accustomed by now to the fact that biographies of English Catholics written by English Catholics tend to make heroes of their subjects. Yet, even against this background, the treatment accorded to Von Hügel is startling. It is extraordinary to find a person designated within the space of a few pages as a "saint," and "a Christ-like figure," and as a "prophet of our own times." And, when we think of what the Fathers and the Doctors of the Catholic Church have accomplished, we are struck at the strength of the assertion that "no man has written so luminously as Friedrich von Hügel of the spiritual transfiguration that comes to a soul through the Mystical Body of Christ."

If such assertions are accurate or even approximate to accuracy, then clearly Catholics would be well urged to imitate Von Hügel's attitudes towards the faith and the Church, and to follow his teaching. If Von Hügel had been really a saint, he would certainly have been a "Confessor Non Pontiff," and the members of Christ's Mystical Body pray on the anniversaries of these heroes that "we may also imitate the actions of him whose feast we celebrate." Obviously some of the confessors had idiosyncracies which most Catholics are definitely not called upon to copy in their own lives. The basic attitudes of the saints, however, must be reproduced in other men if these are to live lives

[6] Cf. *Letters*, p. 7. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

of holiness. Moreover, the spiritual direction and the doctrine of a genuine saint would be invaluable to others.

Hence there can be very serious harm done to souls if some person, especially a highly articulate individual like Von Hügel, is inaccurately designated as a "saint," or as "saintly," or as "Christ-like." People who read such statements, particularly if these statements are allowed to pass without criticism, will be inclined to imagine that the qualities characteristic of the attitudes and the conduct of the so-called "saint" ought to be, or at least can prudently be, reproduced in their own lives.

In Von Hügel's case we find manifested, especially with regard to ecclesiastical authority and Catholic doctrine, an attitude and a conduct which Catholics definitely must not allow themselves to reproduce in their own lives. The Catholic whose relation to the *ecclesia docens* is modeled on that of Von Hügel would definitely be anything but a "saint."

Furthermore, despite what Mr. De la Bedoyère and Father Sheerin have said to the contrary, Von Hügel's teaching, even that portion of it set forth in these relatively unimportant *Letters,* contains very serious inaccuracies. Some of the doctrines he propounded were condemned in the Holy Office decree *Lamentabili sane exitu* and in St. Pius X's encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis.* Other portions of his teaching were opposed to other previous, as well as subsequent, pronouncements of the ecclesiastical *magisterium.*

Finally there is clear evidence that Von Hügel was not by any means an acceptable spiritual director. The recently republished *Letters* have been called good guidance for souls. Indeed Maisie Ward has written of this collection: "One feels it is into a school for saints that these letters bring one."[8] Yet, even in the adulatory Introduction to the *Letters* written by Mrs. Greene herself, there is strikingly clear evidence that Von Hügel's influence or direction was not and is not exactly a "school for saints." Speaking of her uncle, Mrs. Greene wrote:

He told me often of people who had changed under his influence, and had become poor or even unpracticing Catholics—and how he

[8] Maisie Ward (Mrs. Frank Sheed), *The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition: II Insurrection versus Resurrection* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1937), 513.

felt himself to blame in having unsettled them, and given them what they were not ready for. This was the deepest grief to him: "When I think of these, and it is quite a long list, how I wish I had never talked to them!"[9]

Father Sheerin refers to the baneful effects of Von Hügel's influence by explaining that "Von Hügel did not realize that the advanced ideas he assimilated might only poison and destroy more fragile spirits."[10]

In each case the explanation is basically the same. The unfortunate individuals whose faith was weakened or destroyed by Von Hügel's teaching and spiritual direction were "not ready for" the more profound or advanced doctrines of the master. Von Hügel was obviously under the impression—and he managed to convey the impression to others—that there was some portion or department of truth which he could possess with impunity, but which would harm the spiritual lives of less capable or less perfect individuals who might become acquainted with it. He never seems to have realized the fact that the teachings by which he "unsettled" his victims were harmful, not because they were too deep, but only because they were untrue.

The "quite a long list" of the individuals who were turned away from Our Lord and from the Church as a result of Von Hügel's influence and teaching could very well be still further extended if our people are encouraged to regard him as a genuine "saint" and to regard his doctrine and direction as those of a "prophet of our own times." Such encouragement is definitely given to them in the Preface, the Foreword, and the Introduction to the recently re-edited volume of Von Hügel's *Letters.* It can be countered, and it must be countered, by bringing out some of the abundantly available evidence that his attitude towards the Church was definitely not that of a good Catholic and that his teaching and spiritual direction were lamentably imperfect. The remainder of this article will deal only with Von Hügel's conduct towards the ecclesiastical *magisterium* up until the time of his definitive reaction to the *Lamentabili* and the *Pascendi.* His attitude towards these two documents and their teachings, and indeed his attitude towards the entire anti-Modernist campaign

[9] *Letters,* p. 47.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 2.

of St. Pius X, remained substantially unchanged for the rest of his life.[11]

Mrs. Greene said of her uncle that "Everything he did was 'to be in the mind of the Church.' "[12] He must have had a strange concept of the Church's mind. During his most active years he worked and write unceasingly and fanatically in favor of the Modernists and against the Church authorities, particularly St. Pius X, who were striving to protect the purity of the faith and the spiritual welfare of the faithful against the errors of Modernism. It is misleading to speak merely of his "associations" with Modernists, as if he himself had never really been one of them. He was the outstanding leader of the movement.

Writing thirty years after the issuance of the *Lamentabili* and the *Pascendi,* Maud Petre had this to say about him.

> He was undoubtedly our [the Modernists'] leader through all the first stages of the Modernist movement, and his influence extended over at least four countries. He was our centre, our link with others whom we did not personally know. He diffused our writings and extolled our efforts; while criticizing our shortcomings.[13]

Maisie Ward's account parallels that of Miss Petre, but is more detailed:

> Loisy's gaining Catholic support for *L'Évangile et l'Église* must be largely attributed to von Hügel. Several letters in the *Mémoires* consist entirely of accounts of his propaganda. Almost all the favourable reviews that appeared in England were arranged for by him both in Catholic and non-Catholic papers.
>
> Von Hügel was an active agent in the dissemination of Tyrrell's anonymous pamphlets. He corresponded with the whole group of Italian Modernists and supported the *Rinnovamento* financially.[14]

And certainly his attitude was that of the Modernists. De la Bedoyère gives us one of the most characteristic pictures of his hero when he describes him as telling about advice he had been or claimed to have been given. Von Hügel "would in later years recount [this advice] with roars of laughter when any one asked him why his books had never been condemned, saying: 'When a young man in Rome I was given the tip "Never ask

[11] Cf. *Life,* p. 330.
[12] *Letters,* p. 45.
[13] Petre, *op. cit.,* p. 256.
[14] Ward, *op. cit.,* p. 492.

for an *imprimatur;* it is the first step to the Index." ' "[15] Doctrinal activity in the Church and the doctrinal authority of the Church must have seemed quite comical to him.

Von Hügel was in very truth the center of the Modernist group during the critical fifteen-year period (1893-1908). He made it his business to gain the acquaintance and in some cases the friendship of the Catholic writers whose doctrine and procedure were in any way in line with his own. He asked for and gained contact with men like Marcel Hébert, Alfred Loisy, and George Tyrrell,[16] to name only three of them. In favor of Loisy's *L'évangile et l'église,* and, as De la Bedoyère puts it, in favor of "all books to which he attached a great importance, including later his own," he set in motion what his biographer calls "his publicity machine."[17] According to De la Bedoyère, this consisted in distributing copies of the writing in question "to carefully selected people" and in writing "a great mass of letters calling attention to the book."[18] It is interesting to note that, in the case of his own work, *The Mystical Element of Religion,* the "publicity machine" was even more thorough in its operation. In the biography by De la Bedoyère, we read that, after the book had been published, there "began much negotiation about guiding copies into good reviewers' hands and to friends who could make it known, for while the baron disclaimed writing for any wide popular consumption, he was never above taking endless trouble to ensure the proper attention for his works in the right scholarly circles."[19]

One of Von Hügel's letters to the Protestant Professor Clement Webb gives a valuable insight into the mode of operation of the "publicity machine." Webb is being asked to write a review of *The Mystical Element of Religion,* which was then being published.

> And now that my book is appearing—tomorrow or Monday, I believe (my 1st, advance, copy reached me on Wednesday) I am realizing more than ever, how few as yet are, or at least seem to be, the men who combine these 3 fundamental convictions: the special

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[15] *Life,* p. 49.

[16] He contacted Hébert personally in Paris in 1896. He used letters to introduce himself to Loisy in 1893 and to Tyrrell in 1897. Cf. *Life,* pp. 93, 69, 100.

[17] Cf. *Life,* p. 147.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 222.

gift and position of Christianity, and institutional, Cath.-Christianity; all religion in so far as sincere and experienced "revealed"; and no hard nucleus: as you do; and yet how those thick (far too thick) volumes of mine have no chance of even rough comprehension and fair-play with any one who has not something of that triad of convictions in him. And this makes me wonder (I hope without any indecent "log-rolling"!) whether you would not be able and willing to notice the volumes somewhere. . . . And, really, in the British Isles I only know, besides some dozen of the modern-minded among my own people, yourself, Pringle-Pattison, and (in a minor degree, I think) Percy Gardner, together with, as yet, some *very* few of your clerics, of whom I can feel this. Abroad the book is promised valuable support; but I am anxious to keep it from being taken as a big pamphlet.[20]

As a propagandist, or as a salesman, Von Hügel's abilities and activities were extraordinary. He used these abilities and directed these activities primarily to promote teaching and writing by Modernists. It is interesting to note that, in his first letter to Alfred Loisy, the letter in which he brought himself to the attention of the then professor of the *Institut catholique de Paris,* Von Hügel made four requests. They were (1) for two copies of Loisy's *Mythes chaldéens de la création et du déluge,* to be used "pour la propagande," (2) a picture of Loisy, to be put on Von Hügel's desk, next to that of Duchesne, (3) for the right to translate Loisy's *Enseignement biblique* into English "when this could be done prudently," and (4) that Loisy come to England as soon as possible so that Von Hügel might introduce him to some savants among his friends.[21]

That letter was dated April 30, 1893. On November 15 of that same year Loisy was removed from the teaching staff of the *Institut catholique.* A week later, at Loisy's suggestion and in his interest Von Hügel visited Bishop Mignot at Fréjus. Loisy considered that November 22 as "a memorable day in the history of Catholic modernism,"[22] and was tempted to list it as one of the

[20] *Ibid.,* pp. 222 f.

[21] Cf. Alfred Loisy, *Mémoires pour servir a l'histoire religieuse de notre temps* (Paris: Nourry, 1930), XX, I, 287 f. This book is on the Index. Cf. also *Life,* p. 69. Incidentally, in this letter Von Hügel boasted that he was already doing a continuous work of propaganda in favor of Loisy at Cambridge, Oxford, and elsewhere. Cf. Loisy, *loc. cit.*

[22] Cf. Loisy, *op. cit.,* I, 293.

dates that might be assigned as the beginning of that ill-fated movement.[23] It was, of course, the day that marked the first serious effort made by Von Hügel in favor of Loisy and his teachings. Significantly, Von Hügel's action occurred after the French Bishops as a group had made it perfectly clear that they considered those teachings quite unacceptable from the point of view of Catholic orthodoxy.

During the decade 1893-1903, Loisy's difficulties with his ecclesiastical superiors continued and increased. During all this time Von Hügel exerted whatever pressure he could to keep Loisy in the line of thought and conduct which was the cause of these difficulties. In a letter of March 5, 1901, he asked Loisy for six copies of *La religion d'Israel,* a pamphlet made up of offprints of articles which Cardinal Richard, the Archbishop of Paris, had forbidden Loisy to publish.[24] Von Hügel, according to Loisy, wanted the copies "pour sa propagande."[25] Another letter of April 23 that year requested ten more copies of the same work.[26]

On January 17, 1903, Cardinal Richard reproved and forbade the reading of Loisy's *L'évangile et l'église.* In a letter written February 9, Von Hügel came up with the suggestion that Loisy should now turn out a brochure "which would retract nothing, but which would explain, with a calm, firm, and amiable dignity various points misunderstood (*mal compris*) by many sincere souls."[27] The brochure was duly written, and it was the famed *Autour d'un petit livre.*

This second "little red book" was even more insolently unorthodox than its predecessor. It taught, among other things, propositions which, according to Loisy himself, were "not compatible with the scholastic concept of dogmas, with the absolute and strictly personal divinity of Jesus," and could only be sustained "in a relativistic theory of religious belief and of the immanence of God in humanity."[28] On October 5, 1903, Loisy sent a copy of the newly issued work to Von Hügel.

Five days later Von Hügel sent him a letter in which he asked to be kept informed about the consequences of the new publication.

[23] Cf. *ibid.*
[24] Cf. *ibid.*, II, 26.
[25] Cf. *ibid.*
[26] Cf. *ibid.*, II, 28.
[27] *Ibid.*, II, 218; cf. *Life,* p. 149.
[28] Cf. Loisy, *op. cit.*, II, 252.

"You know well," he wrote to Loisy, "that I am wholly with you; and that [the eventual consequences] are *our* concern, *our* sweats and *our* crowns; or rather, these last are almost exclusively for you, as the sweats have been greater on your part."[29] And, in making common cause with Loisy, he did not forget the formidable "publicity machine." He took care to acquire a dozen copies of *Autour d'un petit livre* to be distributed where he thought they would do the most good and he likewise advised Loisy to send out "des exemplaires de publicité."[30]

On December 16, 1903, the Holy Office placed five of Loisy's works on the *Index*. A letter written from the Congregation, on the orders of the Sovereign Pontiff, St. Pius X, to the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, explained that "the very serious errors in which these works abound concern principally: primitive revelation, the authenticity of the facts and teachings of the Gospel, the divinity and the knowledge of Christ, the divine institution of the Church, the sacraments."[31] The letter was written by Cardinal Merry del Val.

On December 30 Cardinal Richard of Paris transmitted the Holy Office decision and Cardinal Merry del Val's communication to Loisy, with a covering letter. He expressed the hope "that you may give us the consolation of being able to say very soon: *Auctor laudabiliter se subjecit.*"[32] On January 4, 1904, Loisy replied that he proposed "to send without delay (*prochainement*) to His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State *l'acte de mon adhésion* to the judgment of the Sacred Congregations."[33] The *Semaine religieuse* of the Archdiocese of Paris, in its issue of January 9, announced his *soumission*.

Loisy was vexed at the substitution of words, and, in a letter to Von Hügel written January 10, expressed the belief that the substitution had been made deliberately to bring him more quickly and completely into the way of obedience and to put him in a compromising position with regard to learned opinion and the French government, for which he was working as a teacher

[29] *Ibid.*, II, 264; cf. *Life*, p. 154.

[30] Cf. Loisy, *op. cit.*, II, 262.

[31] Cf. Jean Rivière, *Le modernisme dans l'église: Étude d'histoire religieuse contemporaine* (Paris: Letouzey, 1929), p. 190.

[32] Cf. Loisy, *op. cit.*, II, 299.

[33] Cf. *ibid.*, II, 307.

in the Sorbonne. He added: "The director of the *Section des sciences religieuses,* A. Reville, has written two kind and sensible letters to me on this subject. He is sure that a *retractation,* in the sense understood by Cardinal Richard, would ruin me in public opinion and would render the continuation of my course impossible, even for the present year."[34]

On January 11 Loisy wrote to Cardinal Merry del Val saying that he received the judgment of the Sacred Congregations with respect, but adding: "I must nevertheless add that my *adhésion* to the sentence of the Sacred Congregations is of purely disciplinary order."[35] Von Hügel, incidentally, had already insisted strongly on the "disciplinary" character of the Holy Office statement.

Naturally the authorities in Rome judged this act of *adhésion* unacceptable, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris was duly notified of the fact. On January 23 Cardinal Richard personally told Loisy that, if he did not retract his erroneous teachings, the Holy See would have to take further action against him and excommunicate him. He was told, furthermore, that, to avoid excommunication, he would have to give up his position in the Sorbonne, discontinue his publications, and retire to some religious house where he could regain a Catholic mentality. As a result of this interview he framed and sent off to Cardinal Merry del Val another studiously ambiguous letter. On February 28 he sent off a personal letter to St. Pius X. It was a beautifully written letter, addressed to the "heart" of the Sovereign Pontiff. In it Loisy asserted that he wanted to live and to die in the communion of the Catholic Church and that he did not want to contribute to the ruin of the faith in France.[36] But, just as in the two letters to Cardinal Merry del Val, there was also present that obstinate, even if implicit, evidence of Loisy's belief that, in condemning his books, the Holy Office had in some way acted against the findings of genuine scholarship.

This letter, too, was judged insufficient. Gossip, in and out of newspapers, spoke of a decree of excommunication against Loisy, and of a condemnation of some definite teachings advanced by him. Finally, however, after still another plea from Cardinal

[34] *Ibid.,* II, 308.
[35] Cf. *ibid.,* II, 313; Rivière, *op. cit.,* p. 226.
[36] Cf. Loisy, *op. cit.,* II, 351.

Richard, and after consultation with the Thureau-Dangin family, Loisy wrote to Cardinal Richard, on March 12: "I declare to Your Eminence that, in the spirit of obedience to the Holy See, I condemn the errors that the Congregation of the Holy Office has condemned in my writings."[37]

It was a statement which, according to Loisy himself, "valait moins que rien."[38] But the Holy See took no further action against him at this time.

During this time, and for the next few years, Von Hügel's conduct with regard to the Catholic faith and to the Holy See was such as to make it somewhat difficult to imagine him a "saint." In making common cause with Loisy, he constituted himself as the chief adviser to that recalcitrant priest, and he wrote and intrigued vigorously in an attempt to weaken the practical influence of the ecclesiastical *magisterium* and to further the cause of his friend and protégé.

In a letter written December 16, 1903, Von Hügel informed Loisy that an English periodical, the *Pilot,* was going to accept one or two articles from the pen of "our admirable Tyrrell."[39] These articles were to be unsigned because of the situation of "our English public, so backward and ill-informed on this question of the New Testament and its problems."[40] He also announced that this same journal might accept "a series of four letters which an admirer of your ideas and writings, anonymous but evidently of high position, has sent me to be published somewhere."[41] Von Hügel implied, in this same letter, that he would publish them elsewhere if he was given the opportunity. Denis, the editor of the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne,* gave him the opportunity he wanted, and the famed *Lettres romaines* duly appeared in the French periodical in the first months of 1904. Originally there were four of them. Within a few weeks the anonymous author had sent two more to Von Hügel, who had them published in the *Annales.*[42]

On December 31, Von Hügel sent Loisy another letter, containing what Loisy considered something like "a metaphysic of the

[37] Cf. *ibid.,* II, 367; Rivière, *op. cit.,* p. 227.
[38] Cf. Loisy, *op. cit.,* II, 367.
[39] Cf. *ibid.,* II, 281.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Von Hügel never divulged the name of the original author of these *Lettres romaines.* Cf. Rivière, *op. cit.,* p. 180.

situation." According to Von Hügel's advice, which De la Bedoyère characteristically designates as the "first-fruits of his prayerful meditations on the condemnation," there were three points to be considered. First, there is the matter of the condemnation of opinions judged simply "temerarious." This, according to Von Hügel, was "an affair of discipline and of the Index." This, in Von Hügel's mind, but not in Loisy's, they could both accept *"ex animo."*

Next, there were the theories and hypotheses advanced to conciliate the truths of the faith with the historical method and with critically established facts. This was "an affair of religious philosophy and of the Holy Office," in which he believed that both he and Loisy could admit the possibility of error in their own teachings.

Finally, there was the matter of historical facts, the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels on the *parousia,* and the inauthenticity of the Fourth Gospel. The letter assured Loisy that he was not infallible in his judgments on these points, and it likewise asserted that these things were not within the field of the Holy Office's competence, and that Loisy need not take any orders from the Holy Office on these subjects.[43]

It seems to have been this letter which influenced Loisy to adopt the disastrous tactic of informing Cardinal Merry del Val, in which was supposed to be a profession of submission to the Holy Office, that his adherence to the condemnation was "of a purely disciplinary order."

An article by Von Hügel in the January 9, 1904, issue of the *Pilot* again represented the condemnation by the Holy Office as "disciplinary," as a practical measure destined to lessen the effects of new and disconcerting ideas. It depicted Loisy as going to condemn whatever was found reprehensible in his writings "with the obvious and due reservation of his self respect as an historian, and of adhesion to the general historical method and its legitimate applications."[44] There were numerous other articles and letters to the same effect. It was plainly and continually Von Hügel's contention that "a simply absolute submission would, in the long run, do as much harm to the cause of authority as it would instantly discredit L. in the eyes of both the learned World

[43] Cf. Loisy, *op. cit.,* II, 296; *Life,* p. 157. [44] Cf. Loisy, *op. cit.,* II, 309.

and of even the most violent assailants themselves."[45] To put the matter bluntly, Von Hügel did not think that Loisy should give the Holy See the kind of submission which the Holy See demanded of him.

During the critical years of the struggle, Von Hügel thought frequently and acted occasionally in the direction of organization. To Tyrrell he wrote on April 1, 1905: "It is quite certain that we, tiny group of English large R. Cs. must not *dream* of working alone. We must either amalgamate with broad Anglicans and suchlike, in England, or with large R. Cs. abroad."[46]

The following year De la Bedoyère tells us that "the baron's blood was up, and on the 2nd May he presided at his house over a meeting of ten Catholics who were to consider the best steps to take to defend Loisy and the others threatened by Rome."[47] Von Hügel's diary carries the result: "Sole positive decision, to get Bishop [Mr. Edmund Bishop, a sympathizer who did not attend this meeting] and me to draw up an Address for presentation to Loisy, in case of Syllabus, his inability to sign and his courage. Excom."[48]

Mr. Bishop, for one reason or another, refused to enter into this plan. As a result, Von Hügel worked on and finally brought to fruition another project, this one international in scope. He managed to get a letter written by the French Modernist, Le Roy. Besides Le Roy and Von Hügel, ten other "internationally famous" Catholics signed this manifesto. The letter was meant to be published when Loisy was about to be excommunicated. When the time finally came, Le Roy failed to answer a letter about it, and Von Hügel was instructed by Loisy himself on January 20, 1908, to let the matter drop.[49]

On July 3, 1907, the Holy Office issued its famous decree *Lamentabili sane exitu,* condemning sixty-five propositions of Modernistic teaching. The following day "His Holiness approved and confirmed the decree of the Most Eminent Fathers and commanded that each and every one of the propositions listed above should be considered by all as reproved and proscribed."

[45] He wrote this in a letter, dated January 22, 1904, and addressed to Wilfrid Ward. Cf. *Life,* p. 160.

[46] *Life,* p. 178.

[47] *Ibid.,* p. 183.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Cf. Loisy, *op. cit.,* II, 613-17; *Life,* pp. 183 f.

The following month Von Hügel gathered a group of nine Italian Modernists around him in the little resort town of Molveno, a few miles to the north of Trent.[50] Von Hügel and his family had been staying at Levico, some miles to the east of Trent. Fogazzaro, one of their number, was readying a series of conferences in various towns in Europe, and, according to Von Hügel's diary, the whole group that gathered at Molveno "went into a wood on mountain-side—discussing what Fog. had better do about his 'Letture' in case of fresh censures."[51] The following day they had another meeting: "in large bedroom [of Hotel Molveno]: discussed practical matters: (1) what to do, if Enc (or Pope otherwise) himself directly condemns *Rinnovamento* [an Italian Modernist publication with which Von Hügel was intimately connected]; (2) what to do if subm. demanded of Priests to decree *Lamentabili;* (3) as to the writing and circulating of tracts."[52]

The entry in the diary for the last day at Molveno is perhaps the most revealing item Von Hügel ever wrote. He is speaking of his valedictory to a little half-furtive gathering he had called to work against the directions of the Holy See, to counter the influence of St. Pius X.

Thursday, 29th August. Bkfst at 6:30. made a little parting speech to our party, reading them Loisy's last letter, & dwelling on necessity of sincere, thorough critical work; of deep, self-renouncing Xtian life; & of the careful charity & magnanimity tords our opponents.[53]

De la Bedoyère was quite impressed by the scene. He spoke of "an audience fascinated by a prophet's spell." He believed that "It must have been unforgettable."[54] Loisy was less moved. Looking at the letter of his which Von Hügel had read to his party, he observed that "the baron's commentary must have been more edifying than my text."[55]

In the case of the Modernist review, *Rinnovamento,* Von Hügel likewise adopted an attitude of blind and insolent opposition to the Church's *magisterium.* This periodical was first published in January, 1907. In April of that same year the Holy Office sent a *Monitum* to Cardinal Ferrari, the Archbishop of Milan, within

[50] Cf. *Life,* p. 196.
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] *Ibid.,* p. 197.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] *Ibid.,* pp. 187 f.
[55] Loisy, *op. cit.,* II, 559.

whose archdiocese *Rinnovamento* was issued.[56] The Holy Office deplored the errors spread abroad by this publication, the harm done by these errors, and the presumption and incapacity of the magazine's directors. It judged *Rinnovamento* particularly obnoxious because it carried articles by such writers as Fogazzaro, Tyrrell, Von Hügel, and Murri. This, incidentally, was the only document emanating from the Holy See to denounce Von Hügel by name.

Cardinal Ferrari, on the orders of the Holy Office, made public the content of the *Monitum.* Then, after the *Lamentabili sane exitu* and the encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis* had appeared, and *Rinnovamento* continued its policy and attacked these documents, he prohibited the magazine, excommunicating all of those who wrote for it, worked for it in any way, or read it. These orders were issued November 6 and December 27, 1907.[57] On November 16, after Von Hügel had heard of the first of these acts, he sent the following telegram to the staff of *Rinnovamento*: "Deep sympathy strong desire dispositions resolutions not be changed."[58]

Rinnovamento, partly at least by reason of Von Hügel's encouragement, continued, despite the Cardinal Archbishop's censure. After the first condemnation by Cardinal Ferrari, Von Hügel personally went to Milan to advise the directors of the publication. He promised and then gave the magazine an article in support of Loisy.[59]

Furthermore, only two days after Von Hügel had sent his telegram to the directors of *Rinnovamento,* St. Pius X issued his famous *Motu proprio,* the *Praestantia Sacrae Scripturae.* This document contains the following passage.

> To this purpose [to declare now and expressly to order that all are obligated in conscience to submit to the decisions of the Pontifical Biblical Commission . . . and to those decrees of the Sacred Congregations that have reference to doctrine and that are approved by the Pontiff], to put down the more audacious spirits of many Modernists who, by sophisms and deceits try to take away every kind of force and effectiveness not only from the Decree *Lamentabili sane exitu,* which the Inquisition brought out on July 4 of this year at Our

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[56] The text is in the *Acta sanctae sedis,* XL (1907), 272 f.
[57] Cf. *Civiltà Cattolica,* LIX, I, 240 f.
[58] *Life,* p. 205.
[59] Cf. *ibid.,* pp. 205 f.

orders, but also from Our encyclical letter *Pascendi dominici gregis,* published Sept. 8 of this same year, by Our Apostolic power We repeat and confirm both that Decree of the Supreme Sacred Congregation and Our encyclical letter, adding the penalty of excommunication against those who contradict; and We declare and decree that if anyone, which God forbid, should be so rash as to defend any of the propositions, opinions, and doctrines reproved in either of these documents, by that very fact he falls under the censure imposed in the chapter *Docentes* of the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis,* which is the first of the excommunications reserved *simpliciter* to the Roman Pontiff.[60]

Even De la Bedoyère admits that "It would seem therefore that under two heads von Hügel incurred such excommunication."[61] He was encouraging and aiding subjects of the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan to flout their ecclesiastical superior and to persist in the work that made them excommunicated. He continued in his attacks on the *Lamentabili* and the *Pascendi,* thereby certainly incurring the excommunication imposed by St. Pius X in the *Praestantia Scripturae Sacrae.*

His reaction was characteristic. He obtained the advice of some friends "to the effect that no one is obliged to apply to himself a general excommunication of the kind since in the case of a penal act it is the responsibility of the authority to apply it individually."[62] For a person of Von Hügel's character, such counsel is never very difficult to find. According to the advice upon which Von Hügel acted, there would really be no such thing as an excommunication *latae sententiae* at all.

What De la Bedoyère has to say on the subject of Von Hügel's reaction to the censure and the principle upon which he acted is quite informative about the basic attitudes of the old Modernist and of his biographer.

He [Von Hügel] further held that in standing firm within the Church he was helping to prevent the supreme danger for the Church, namely a Modernist *schism.* Certainly he acted on this principle, and went to confession and communion as soon as he was in London, maintaining his customary religious practices uninterruptedly.[63]

In this passage, "standing firm within the Church," is a euphemism for "completely disregarding the commands of the Holy

[60] *Acta Pii X,* IV, 235.
[61] *Life,* p. 207.
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] *Ibid.*

Father and the penalties inflicted by him." For the man described as a "saint" in the Foreword to the recently republished *Letters,* confession and communion were acts of defiance and disobedience to the Saint who presided over the Church militant then as Christ's Vicar on earth.

Not only did Von Hügel ignore the papal teachings himself, but he turned bitterly against anyone who professed to accept them. According to Maisie Ward: "He could never, he said, respect my father [Wilfrid Ward, the biographer of Newman] again if he said anything more in favour of Pascendi, he could never respect Abbé Bremond after he took the anti-Modernist oath."[64]

About the time that Von Hügel was ignoring and thus defying the censure imposed upon him *latae sententiae* by the Sovereign Pontiff's *Motu proprio,* St. Pius X himself spoke of the Modernist group in his allocution *Relicturus ecclesiam.* The allocution was delivered December 16, 1907.

These men, having spurned the authority of both the Roman Pontiff and the Bishops, introduce a most impious methodic doubt about the very foundations of the faith. And, especially if they are clerics who despise the study of Catholic theology, they derive their philosophy, sociology, and literature from poisoned sources. They manifest in themselves a kind of laicist mentality, quite opposed to a Catholic mentality, and they arrogate to themselves the right and the duty of correcting and reforming the Catholic mentality.

It would certainly have been lamentable if men of this sort, having left the embrace of the Church, were to go over to its open opponents. But it is much more regrettable that they have become so blind as to consider themselves, and to boast that they are, still children of the Church despite the fact that, although perhaps by their actions rather than by their words, they have broken the pledge of the faith that they made when they were baptized. And if, led by a kind of false tranquillity of mind, they even assist at Mass, receive the Eucharist, or even, though this would be a frightful thing, approach God's altar to sacrifice, amidst all this, the things they preach, the campaigns they carry on, and the things they so obstinately profess, prove that they have lost the faith, and that, while they think they are within the ship [the Church], they have suffered a disgraceful shipwreck.[65]

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[64] Ward, *op. cit.,* p. 498.

[65] *Acta Pii X,* IV, 121 f.

Although Von Hügel chose to disregard the censure imposed in the *Praestantia Scripturae Sacrae* and to receive the sacraments in defiance of the Holy Father's orders, he was actually willing to accept excommunication rather than retract his erroneous teachings. He wrote thus to Tyrrell on November 20, 1907.

> We have to make a new mentality, a new *psychosis,* we cannot do so unless we hold out. And the risk of having to do without the Sacraments for a while, at least, would not prove disastrous, where the situation was critical and the motives were as Catholic as one can say, without presumption, they are here.[66]

Von Hügel's motive was that the Church should change its doctrine so as to bring that doctrine more in line with what he regarded as the findings of critical and historical studies. He may have believed it to be "Catholic," but it was not in accordance with the faith and the teaching of the Catholic Church.

On May 31, 1954, Pope Pius XII delivered his allocution *Si diligis* to the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, gathered in Rome for the ceremony of canonization of St. Pius X, the Sovereign Pontiff against whom Von Hügel had worked so constantly and insolently. In the course of that allocution he described the men who trouble the Church during this period, the men against whom the teachings of the *Si diligis* are directed.

> For unfortunately it has happened that certain teachers care little for conformity with the living Teaching Authority of the Church, pay little heed to her commonly received doctrine clearly proposed in various ways; and at the same time they follow their own bent too much, and regard too highly the intellectual temper of more recent writers, and the standards of other branches of learning, which they declare and hold to be the only ones which conform to sound scholarship.[67]

The men thus stigmatized have followed the example of Friedrich von Hügel. It was not the example of a saint.

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[66] *Life,* p. 206.

[67] *AER,* CXXXI, 2 (Aug., 1954), 134 f.

Answers to Questions

GROUPING OF MASS STIPENDS

Question: A large number of Mass cards is left near the coffin of a deceased Catholic. Each card contains the statement "The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for the repose of the soul of . . ." and the usual offering for a low Mass is enclosed. Is it permissible for the members of the family to group these low Mass stipends and have High Masses celebrated for the stipulated High Mass stipends? This refers particularly to a parish where it is the custom to have a daily High Mass.

Answer: If those who give the stipends have the intention of having their offering combined with several others so that one High Mass will be celebrated instead of several low Masses, the arrangement described in the question is fully permissible. But such an intention cannot be presumed on the part of the donors of individual Mass cards. Each one is supposed to desire a separate low Mass, unless the contrary is clearly indicated. The relatives of the deceased person have no right to take the matter into their own hands, nor is the fact that a High Mass is offered daily in the parish church sufficient to determine the intention of the donors as desiring the coalescence of the stipends. If the pastor cannot celebrate the Masses himself, he can send them to some other priest who will offer them or have them offered. In any event, it must be regarded as the normal procedure for those who arrange for the celebration of the Masses to have as many Masses said as will correspond to the number of offerings "for a Mass."

ATTENDANCE AT A "REVIVAL"

Question: Would a Catholic be permitted to attend one of the "revivals" of Billy Graham in a public auditorium?

Answer: Some might be inclined to reply to this question that the "revival" conducted by Mr. Graham is only a lecture, not a religious service, especially if it is held in a public auditorium,

such as Madison Square Garden. But such an answer is not in accordance with the facts. Whatever may be Mr. Graham's religious affiliation or ministerial training, he is recognized as a Protestant clergyman, and his "revival" as a religious service. It is accidental whether it is conducted in a church or in an auditorium.

Accordingly, the question is to be solved according to the principles laid down in Canon 1258. Under no circumstances would a Catholic be permitted to take any active part in such a "revival" —for example, by joining in the hymns or prayers. That would be intrinsically wrong. Merely passive participation—presence without joining in the service—could be permitted if there were a sufficiently justifying reason, and danger of perversion and of scandal were removed. However, it would be difficult to imagine a reason which would justify a Catholic in attending a "revival." Certainly, the reason of "civil duty or honor" which Canon 1258, §2, proposes as justifying passive participation at such functions as funerals and weddings could hardly ever be adduced as an adequate motive for attending a "revival." To attend merely from curiosity, even if there were no danger of perversion or of scandal, would be at least a venial sin (Cf. Merkelbach, *Summa theologiae moralis* [Paris, 1938], I, n. 758). Hence, Catholics should be told quite definitely that they should not attend the "revivals" conducted by Mr. Graham or by other non-Catholic preachers.

PRIESTS ENGAGED IN SECULAR WORK

Question: Is it true that many of our priests are so busy with work that could be done by laymen that they have not sufficient time for distinctively priestly labors? I am referring to priests who are occupied with secular activities that contribute toward the benefit of the parish.

Answer: I would give a wholehearted affirmative answer to this question. To take one example, I believe that the work of seeking prospective converts from among the non-Catholics of the United States—more than 100,000,000 at present—would be much more successful if our priests devoted more time and effort to this truly apostolic task. And one reason why some priests do not have

more time for convert-making is that they are busy with such projects as arranging bazaars and bridge-parties, planning drives for funds, training baseball teams, organizing Boy Scouts, etc. Now, all these works are good in themselves and help toward the progress of Catholic life and parish loyalty. But they are works that could be done by lay persons—at least, in their details, with a general supervision on the part of the priest. It is possible for a priest to become so absorbed in these tasks that he will neglect his more important priestly duties, without realizing that he is not measuring out his time properly. Occasionally all priests engaged in parish work should check on their various activities and ask themselves honestly if they are following the important principle: first things first.

THE LANGUAGE OF A TERRITORIAL PARISH

Question: May the pastor of a territorial parish in the United States conduct his instructions and sermons in some language other than English?

Answer: It is certainly the normal procedure for the instructions and sermons of a territorial parish to be given in the language of the country, so that it would be most unusual, to say the least, for the pastor to give these discourses exclusively in a foreign tongue. Indeed, if there are some members of the parish who are not sufficiently familiar with the foreign language to understand the sermons and instructions, he would be failing in his duty of providing them adequately with the word of God. Of course, in the supposition that all the members of the parish know only the foreign language, this may and should be used. But rarely, if ever, does such a situation exist in any territorial parish in the United States at the present day. On the contrary, it usually happens that the children of foreign-born people are more familiar with English than with the language of their parents.

FRANCIS J. CONNELL, C.SS.R.

FUNERALS ON EASTER MONDAY

Question: There was complete confusion at our church on Easter Monday and Tuesday as regards two funerals. The persons were buried on Friday and Saturday of Holy Week. On one of the days a Requiem Mass was offered and on the other day the Mass of the day was said. Were we allowed to have Requiem Masses both days?

Answer: Ordinarily the body must be present when the Mass *in die obitus* is said, since this is the most highly privileged of the Requiem Masses. However, for a good and adequate reason, the body may be said to be present morally. And certainly this is true in the situation described in the inquiry. The Funeral Mass could have been said on both Easter Monday and Tuesday by virtue of the special Indult granted to the United States in 1940 in reply to the petition of the present Apostolic Delegate. To clear up any confusion in the future we list once again the details of the privilege granted to our country. The Funeral Mass is forbidden only: (1) on all Sundays; (2) on the six holydays of obligation; (3) on Epiphany and Corpus Christi; (4) on the last three days of Holy Week; (5) on the feast of the patron of the place, the titular feast of the church, and the anniversary of the dedication of the church (if these feasts are transferred to the following Sunday, a Funeral Mass may be celebrated on the day of the feast, but is forbidden on Sunday).

It is important to note that "if the Funeral Mass is impeded, it retains all its privileges if celebrated on the first day following on which it is not similarly impeded."

INTERIOR TABERNACLE VEIL

Question: Are we required to have interior tabernacle veils? For us at our parish they are a complete nuisance.

Answer: The Congregation of Sacred Rites has given a decision (No. 3150) that the tabernacle veils on the inside of the tabernacle are tolerated but not all required. However, they cannot be considered as a substitute for the exterior veil or *conopaeum*. We agree wholeheartedly with our inquirer that these interior veils can be a great nuisance and source of annoyance at times.

PROCESSION PRECEDENCE

Question: Where should domestic prelates (Right Reverend Monsignors) be in the Forty Hour procession when they are vested in choir robes and the Most Reverend Ordinary carries the Blessed Sacrament?

Answer: The various ceremonials direct that domestic prelates in choir dress follow after the celebrant carrying the Blessed Sacrament whether he is a bishop or not.

LOCATION OF AMBRY

Question: We are designing a new church and are concerned about the location of the ambry. Must it of necessity be in the sanctuary?

Answer: The ambry is the proper place for keeping the year's supply of oils. The Congregation of Sacred Rites says, according to Father O'Connell, that it should be in the chancel of the church. He likewise has a footnote that directs that "the ambry might be in another part of the church, but it must be in the church; some rubricians think this must include the sacristy."

MASS SERVER PROBLEM

Question: At our church sometimes one of the priests has no server. Should the server at the next altar cross over and minister to this priest at the Offertory, etc.? Would the server's attention at his own Mass be less perfect, especially if he ministered to this priest during the essential parts of his own Mass?

Answer: Father O'Connell *(Celebration of Mass)* states very emphatically that "it is an abuse for one server to serve two Masses at the same time." That should settle any doubts in the matter, even concerning the merits gained.

PASCHAL CANDLE REGULATIONS

Question: Please list specifically when the Easter candle must be lighted.

Answer: The Paschal candle is lighted on Easter Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Saturday, as well as the Sundays until Ascension Thursday, whenever Solemn or High Mass is celebrated. The Congregation of Sacred Rites has decreed that if it has been customary to light the Easter candle on some of the greater feasts (viz., Finding of the Holy Cross) this custom may be continued. Even on these days if the parochial Mass is a low Mass, this candle may be lighted. The candle should not be lighted for Requiem Masses, when violet vestments are worn, or when Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament occurs.

ASPERGES CEREMONY

Question: There seems to be a lack of uniformity in the ceremony of the Asperges before Sunday High Mass. What exactly does the priest do after he reaches the altar?

Answer: After the celebrant has genuflected at the foot of the altar, he kneels to receive the aspergillum. Then the celebrant places his left hand on his breast and with the right hand he sprinkles the front of the altar, in the middle, to his left and then to the right. He intones the *Asperges* or *Vidi Aquam* while he does this sprinkling. He then sprinkles himself by touching his forehead with the aspergil and then rising he sprinkles the officers of the Mass at the altar with him. He genuflects and proceeds to sprinkle the congregation. He may do this from the communion railing by simply sprinkling the people after he has first bowed to them. If he chooses to stop at the railing he sprinkles the congregation in the form of a cross, in the middle, to the celebrant's left and then to his right. If he prefers to move down the aisle, Father O'Connell tells us that the celebrant ought to sprinkle the people on each side alternately on his way down and "return with hands joined, since to sprinkle people on the back, unseen by them, is unbecoming and should be avoided when possible."

WALTER J. SCHMITZ, S.S.

Analecta

The decree of His Holiness Pope Pius XII of May 30, 1954, proclaiming that honor as a Saint and Confessor be rendered his predecessor Pius X appears in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* for March, 1955. The Pope points to the role of a Vicar of Christ on earth, namely, to love and serve the Redeemer with an outstanding piety surpassing that of other men, and, like the Good Shepherd, to spend his life for his flock despite any trials or difficulties. Our Holy Father points to the fact that everything implied in this role has been exemplified in the noblest manner by Pope Pius X. Briefly but eloquently His Holiness reviews the life and canonization cause of St. Pius X and then solemnly proclaims him a Saint and Confessor of the Church. The translation of this homily is carried in last August's issue of *AER*, pp. 120-26.

The Office and Mass in honor of St. Pius X which is to be celebrated with the rank of a double on September 3 appears in the April 22 issue of the *Acta*. It should be mentioned that the second nocturn lessons are masterfully composed, effectively covering the Saint's life in a brief but forceful manner.

One of the great contributions of St. Vincent de Paul to the Church was the Society of priests that he instituted, namely, the Congregation of the Mission, commonly called the Vincentians. For years work has been spent upon their Constitutions, revising them and adapting them to the Code of Canon Law. On July 19, 1953, these Constitutions were given pontifical approval and the papal letter proclaiming this fact appears now in the March issue of the *Acta*.

The congratulations and felicitations of Pope Pius XII to Cardinal Piazza on the occasion of his Silver Jubilee as a bishop appear also in this issue.

Those engaged in the study and promotion of Gregorian chant and liturgical music have long been aware of the contribution in this field by the Pius X School for liturgical music in New York City. It will be gratifying for them to know that this school has been affiliated with the Pontifical Institute for Sacred Music as of May 10, 1954.

Among those recently honored by the Holy See with Curial appointments is an American priest, the Very Reverend Edward L. Heston, C.S.C., Procurator General of the Holy Cross Con-

gregation. He was appointed a Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of Religious on Feb. 16, 1955. Father Heston formerly served as a member of the staff at the Apostolic Delegation in Washington, D. C., before his appointment as Procurator General of the Congregation in Rome.

On April 23, 1954, the Archdiocese of Washington, D. C., was placed under the Patronage of the Maternity of Our Blessed Mother. Archbishop O'Boyle observed in his petition that Our Lady has always been honored with public devotion in the Washington area since colonial days and the first church in the present Archdiocese was actually dedicated to her. In view of this past devotion to Our Lady, and, also, in view of the fact that the capital of the country whose Patron is Mary should be pre-eminent in its Marian devotion, Archbishop O'Boyle asked that the whole Archdiocese be placed under the Patronage of her Maternity.

Also appearing in the April issue of the *Acta* are the new rules for the recitation of the Divine Office and the celebration of Mass which are to be effective on January 1. These have already appeared in full in the June issue of the *AER,* pp. 409-22.

The Holy Office has published a *Monitum* under the date of March 22, 1955, with regard to the celebration of afternoon Masses. Attention is called to the fact that extensive interpretation of the Apostolic Constitution *"Christus Dominus"* is to be avoided. For convenience sake, the decree is cited here in translation.

MONITUM

It has come to the attention of this Supreme Sacred Congregation that not infrequently afternoon Masses are celebrated beyond the limits which the Apostolic Constitution *"Christus Dominus"* enumerates for the common good of the faithful.

Accordingly local Ordinaries should not grant permission for the celebration of afternoon Masses simply to enhance external solemnity or for the convenience of individuals.

The Holy Office takes this occasion and considers it opportune to recall to the minds of all that the Apostolic Constitution *"Christus Dominus"* forbids interpretation which extends the faculties granted therein (Cf. *A.A.S.,* XXXXV [1953], 23).

Rome, the Holy Office, March 22, 1955.

Marius Crovini, Notary of the Holy Office

ROMAEUS O'BRIEN, O.CARM.

The Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C.

Book Reviews

BEING AND BECOMING. By D. J. B. Hawkins. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954. Pp. xvii+176. $3.00.

Father Hawkins, pastor in the parish of Esher in Suffolk, England, is already known in America as an author of an excellent little study on the existence and nature of God, *The Essentials of Theism.* He has also written *A Sketch of Mediaeval Philosophy,* and *Causality and Implication.* The last named treatise constitutes the matter of the last three chapters of this latest volume, *Being and Becoming,* here rewritten with a view to keeping clearer the order of thinking in logic and the order of being in metaphysics.

The author in this volume presents a most useful introduction to metaphysical notions rather than a metaphysics itself, mainly with contemporary British philosophy in mind. As he says, he has great admiration for Aristotle particularly "for the way in which so early in the history of philosophy he was able to lay down a great part of a clear basic vocabulary for the expression of the most general and pervasive of notions." Thomism, of course, is in that tradition. It is the author's desire to rethink that philosophy in the light of the criticism of later thought and such contributions as the latter may be said to have made. It is decidedly to the author's credit that he feels so confident of his own position that he approaches even the most anti-metaphysical criticism in modern philosophy with a spirit of complete detachment by giving it an entirely sympathetic presentation, emphasizing what he considers to be its strongest point.

The views particularly of Hume and Kant are considered concerning the very notion of metaphysics. Then follow in a similar manner the consideration of the notions of being and its analysis, of distinction, relatedness, similarity, analogy, diversity, unity, change, potency, act, substance, value and cause. In each case the traditional metaphysical notions take on new significance by being submitted to such a treatment. In particular the last three chapters devoted to causality have gained much in this present rewriting of what previously constituted the content of the author's essay on *Causality and Its Implications.* Father Hawkins concludes that the principles of sufficient reason, of contradiction and causality still need more critical analysis than they sometimes receive. Their traditional significance survives modern criticism and appears clearly when the vagueness and ambiguity which has often surrounded them have been overcome. The same is true generally of

all the important notions of the Aristotelian school. Nevertheless the critical review of them is considered necessary in every age in relation to the difficulties and problems of the age. Only if such critical rethinking is neglected will metaphysics perish.

Our one comment on the whole of Father Hawkins' treatment of his subject is that he has not sufficiently emphasized the tremendous advance, indeed the revolutionary character, and hence the uniqueness, of Thomistic metaphysics in relation to that of Aristotle. While Thomism may properly be said to be in the spirit of the realism of Aristotle, the powerful influence of Christian revelation on the thinking of St. Thomas enabled the latter to originate a truly unique Christian metaphysics that is peculiarly his own and is not properly appreciated when thought of as largely revised Aristotelianism. It seems to us it is this unique Thomistic metaphysics that shows itself to be fundamentally sound in the face of the modern criticism so fairly presented by the author.

CHARLES A. HART

FRUITFUL CONFESSIONS: PRACTICAL EXHORTATIONS FOR THE CONFESSOR. By Rev. A. Simon, O.M.I. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co., 1954. Pp. xvi+220. $3.25.

Religious at times express the wish that there would be given to them, in the course of their weekly confession, definite guidance and inspiration to help them advance more successfully on the road to perfection, and to prevent the weekly confession's becoming merely a matter of routine. On the other hand, one can appreciate the diffidence of the confessor of religious who may ask in return, "Just what shall I say to these good men and women to help them grow in the spiritual life?"

Father Simon's book is a commendable effort, the result of years of experience as a confessor, to satisfy the needs both of the religious and of their confessor. As the various headings indicate, the work is intended to supply thoughts suggested by the propers of the Sunday Masses, and by the feasts of Our Lord, His Blessed Mother, and the saints. The final section is given to thoughts on the duties of the religious life.

The confessor who uses this book as an aid to making more fruitful the confessions of his penitents is not expected to memorize, or to repeat verbatim, the author's words. Father Simon offers several alternatives in the thoughts which he suggests, not only for the Sunday

propers, but also for many of the feasts. That is, there will be given a thought based on the Introit, in addition to two suggested *ferverinos* for both the epistle and the gospel of the day. From the variety of material that is thus offered to him, the confessor within a few moments can glean food for reflection, which will turn the suggested thought into an exhortation that is his own and in his own words. Such an exhortation will both inspire and encourage the penitent, by manifesting the confessor's interest, and by giving him a definite message to think over after his regular confession.

Father Simon's book is intended for the confessor of religious. However, it can be used to good advantage by any confessor, especially by one who finds himself wondering, shortly before he hears confessions, just what he should say to the so-called average penitent, who does not offer an occasion for some special direction or advice. Not every suggested thought will be applicable to the laity, but many of them will be, and many others can easily be adapted. This book is a satisfactory answer to the question recently asked of the reviewer: "Can you recommend a good book with little inspiring things to say to penitents? I hear confessions every day, and I think they should always be given a little bit—just a few sentences, perhaps—to think about when they come to confession." Any priest will find Father Simon's work a valuable aid toward fruitful confessions, especially for regular, devout penitents.

JOHN J. DANAGHER, C.M.

THE PRIEST IN THE WORLD. By Rev. Josef Sellmair. Translated by Brian Battershaw. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press. 1954. Pp. x+238. $3.25.

You will want to read this book. It deals with the life and work of the secular priest. Fresh and vigorous in its manner, unusual in its approach, it displays brilliance and insight in its analysis and extraordinary force in its conclusions. It is not a devotional work, by any means. But it will have its effect on one's prayer, too.

"And yet even in sanctity, even in grace, man cannot realize his higher vocation unless he takes the fact of his humanity seriously, and that without reservation." This is Father Sellmair's point of departure. He is most earnestly concerned with the supernatural life of the priest, but he is for that very reason deeply occupied with his natural life too, the whole being of the man. "In brief, only he who is good, complete and genuine as a man, can be a good, complete and genuine priest."

The priest's body must be disciplined and controlled: "The priest without asceticism will lose his soul." But, he insists, Christianity in its essence is not hostile to nature. Christ does not reject creation as it sighs for redemption. What He desires is its recuperation, transformation, glorification. It cannot possibly be God's will that we should make ourselves into bodily and spiritual cripples; nor could God, who created us as healthy beings, have more pleasure in our sicknesses and infirmities than in our health and completeness. So, Sellmair concludes, the priest is to use and develop his body by work, play and discipline to make it the fit and strong instrument of the soul. (And this even from the liturgical angle: "A high degree of bodily control, discipline and poise is necessary if the priest in his liturgical function is to hold himself worthily at the altar!") He feels that modern man has already been sufficiently punished by sin and the consequences of sin. "Ascetical practice should not chastise the body in the sense of punishing it, but in order to improve it and set it free; it should help it play the part it originally played; restore its original faculties; free it from its chains, and all else that obstructs its perfect functioning; it should help to heal and redeem it. It must be positive and organic, attuned to the body's unique nature when viewed as a totality of body and soul, and so build up and develop it, free and perfect it."

The natural powers of the soul, likewise, are to be purified, developed and set at the disposal of the supernatural life and vocation of the priest. Or rather, grace is to reach down into soul and body and bring them both to perfection: "The need of the modern Christian is not for a passive, but for an active and definitely refreshing kind of asceticism. Nature herself has seen to the passive kind. The age and the burdens it has imposed have already weakened the body sufficiently. . . . Christianity, in a word, must mobilize its inexhaustible funds of mental and spiritual energy in order, once more, to give the body a backbone and upright carriage. . . . When we consider the vast effects that sanctity is capable of producing on a human personality, and its vitalizing influence on the will, it surely seems logical to assume, even from the purely natural point of view, that it also has the power of vitalizing the body."

Sellmair follows this approach throughout. He employs it in dealing with the position of the secular priest. (Here, as elsewhere, his views are colored by his European background of class strata and anti-clericalism, and have to be compensated for when applied to the American scene.) The same approach is strongly in evidence as he discusses the priest's learning, the priest and culture, the world of the priest and the priest in his relations with authority, both civil

and ecclesiastical. It is there too in his section on the priest and women, a splendid chapter by the way, balanced, prudent, but extremely powerful, one that might very well be required reading for all candidates for the sub-diaconate.

The style leaves something to be desired. Paragraphs frequently have little connection with each other, and it is often difficult to see logical order in them. Repetition and restatement are tiresome on occasion, and reference and allusion may often be puzzling to the ordinary "priest in the world."

But the brilliant, penetrating and rousing thought keeps flashing forth again and again. And when you have read a while you realize that this is one of those books you will keep and use over and over.

WILLIAM MORRIS, S.S.

THE DELIVERANCE OF SISTER CECILIA. By Sister Cecilia as told to William Brinkley. New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1954. Pp. 360. $3.75.

I feel someone shaking me hard enough to hurt, and I wake up . . . and see it is a sister, all pale and quivering. . . . "Sister! Oh, Sister! Four policemen are waiting for you downstairs, and four automobiles more of them outside! Mother Superior says to take a blanket with you because it will be cold at the police station."

For one black moment I think I am having a nightmare. . . .

"Sister," I say, "I don't plan to go to the police station."

Thus begins the very vivid, very human, and suspenseful retelling of an unusual true-life story—the escape of a woman in religious vows from the clutches of the Communists.

Beside the factual account of Sister Cecilia's four-month flight—within the borders of her native Slovakia, then across the River Morava into Russian-occupied Austria, and finally into the American zone—the usual cloak-and-dagger fiction grows pale. This is emphatically not just another I-escaped-from-the-Reds book. Here are no sensational details of terror and torture, but a record of adventure fascinating in its evident authenticity and inspiring in its quiet courage.

Before we learn more about the flight itself we are told of her childhood on her father's farm, of her vocation to the Sisterhood and her training as a nun, and of her seventeen years as a teacher. The gradual, relentless pressure of the Communists upon Catholic schools is graphically presented. After the sisters were evicted from the schools, and even from their convent, some of them were sent into

factories, others were permitted to serve in the hospital. It was while she was engaged in nursing that Sister Cecilia became involved in the work of the Underground. Inevitably, the time came when she herself was on the "wanted" list. The flight itself is dramatically told. It is full of alternate episodes of suspense, fear, humor, fright, blunder, pettiness, and resourcefulness.

Personally, the reviewer found the story of her early years on the farm very charming. A critical Catholic eye might find parts of the story of her years as a nun, however, a little too childish and pietistic. Mr. Brinkley, an editor of *Life* magazine, to whom Sister Cecilia related the story, may not be a Catholic; in any case, he seems to be striving to reach the widest popular audience possible, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, but, on the other hand, he does not obviously intrude between reader and narrator. Always it is the warm personality, unflagging humor, and faith of Sister Cecilia that reach out to us from the pages of this delightful book.

WILLIAM DENNIS RYAN

A NEW TESTAMENT COMMENTARY. By Ronald A. Knox. Vol. II: Acts and Epistles. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954. Pp. 322. $3.75.

Devotees of Msgr. Knox perhaps will be well pleased with his latest commentary, on Acts and "St. Paul's letters to the Churches" (i.e. from Romans to Thessalonians). The same Knoxan literary technique that has previously so delighted his followers is found in this work; but we also find the same Knoxan "exegetical principles" that have so baffled his critics in his other scriptural works.

There is the same apparent effort to apotheosize the insignificant as in his other books. He carries his readers through many an excursus on trivia, over which he spills much ink, although, it must be admitted, he does spill it beautifully; for example, his views on one "born out of due time" (pp. 167-68). On the other hand, he passes over much vital material without a mention (e.g., the Eucharistic sacrifice implied in *I Cor.* 10:14-22; divorce in *I Cor.* 7:10-11); at other times he dismisses problems with a wave of the hand (e.g., the "discrepancies" in regard to Paul's conversion [p. 54]).

There is also the same general and bombastic condemnation of the "commentators," "exegetes," "modern editors," "modern translators," "some"; although in this present work he significantly leaves them unnamed. Other opinions (frequently the common one) are "fantastic," "unpardonable," "idiotic," "impossible," "inconceivable."

We find the same propensity, as in his other scriptural works, to defend in a scholarly fashion a discarded opinion; he apparently instinctively feels obliged to champion lost causes. For example, he rules out as "impossible" that the "another disciple" of *John* 18:15 is the Beloved Disciple (p. 12); "'him who so condemned it' (*Rom.* 8:20) can only refer to Adam, who subjected the world to frustration by forfeiting his Paradise" (p. 98)—"moderns" who refer it to God are guilty of "indiotic tautology"; the "olive tree" (*Rom.* 11:16-22) is of Christian origin, not Jewish (p. 112); he attributes good faith to Simon Magus, whose character has been maligned (p. 19); the "sting of the flesh" (*II Cor.* 12:7) refers to enemies of Paul's own race (pp. 203-205); the root meaning of "Satan" is "hindrance," not "adversary" (p. 302)—a meaning he adopts and adapts in many places.

There is still the same disregard for the obvious, pointing up "clues" and "curious constructions" (e.g., Titus *was* circumcized [*Gal.* 2:3] [p. 216]; the culpability of the Jews was *increased* by their ignorance [*Acts* 3:17] [p. 10]—the sense also given to *Luke* 23:34). Cf. also his novel interpretations of "to live is Christ, to die is gain" (p. 266); also the "being clothed over" of *II Cor.* 5:4 (p. 186).

He apparently still makes a conscious effort to amuse. How else can we explain the two "first person" documents written by Luke himself which he "botched together so clumsily" (p. 65)?

As far as this reviewer can judge, Msgr. Knox directs his commentary to neither the scholar nor the non-scholar, but to the Knoxan enthusiast. The non-scholar, who looks for a practical guide, will not find the commentary easy going. There are many cross-references, involved argumentations, obscurities, the raising of endless difficulties, needless complication of texts, and a sense of being "left hanging." Frequent emendation of a text which the copyists have badly mangled (according to Knox) may cause some concern to the uninitiated (and initiated).

Nor will the scholar be pleased. Knox's striving for an original point of view by the use of legitimate enough exegetical principles to serve dogmatically the Knoxan tendencies will not be well accepted; nor will the reckless haymakers at the *massa damnata* of exegetes (who have dedicated their whole lives to Scripture study) add to the stature of Knox.

We do not find any development of the grand Pauline themes that give life and soul to a commentary. On the contrary, Knox endeavors to take theology out of exegesis. For example, writing of Pauline predestination, he says, "the various stages of human destiny enumerated in verses 29 and 30 belong to the realm of dogmatic theology and need not be discussed here" (p. 100). Actually, in this case, *Rom.*

8:29-30 has no relation to dogmatic theology. Again, "'He emptied himself' . . . is a crux for the theologians, not for the commentators" (p. 268). And, "Verse 24 (Col. 1) is a well known crux to the theologian rather than to the commentator." To take theology out of exegesis is like taking the soul out of the body.

However, the Knoxan enthusiast will enjoy this book as they have his others (not, we hope, especially for its scriptural import but for its Knoxan qualities). Yet, any reader, non-scholar and scholar (if he practices sufficient self-control) can profit from it, once the Knoxan tendencies are recognized. Then, too, buried in the midst of his labors we do occasionally find a jewel (cf. p. 246, on *Eph.* 1:23).

FRANCIS J. SCHROEDER, S.S.J.

DICTIONARY OF LAST WORDS. Compiled by Edward S. LeComte. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. Pp. xxv + 267. $5.00.

This over-priced volume is one that would serve no ostensible purpose on anyone's library shelf, except for man's perpetual fascination with the subject of dying. It is a literary *genre* devoted exclusively to final utterances, in varying accents from Montaigne to Mencken, and this little volume is an interesting contribution to that literature.

Mr. LeComte suggests that death can make even triviality momentous and delirium oracular, but it is to be feared that many of the last utterances he cites never lost their trivial character.

It is hardly of monumental interest that Leopold II should say, "I am hot," and Lepelletier, "I am cold"; that David Garrick should utter "Oh dear," or that Charles Carroll of Carrollton should say, "Thank you, Doctor."

One also has the invidious suspicion that some of the utterances are a trifle too neat to be authentic, a situation of which the compiler seems tolerantly aware when he cites James Gordon Bennett's advice to a cub reporter: "Remember, Son, many a good story has been ruined by over-verification." Perhaps the most fastidious soul prefers, like Captain Hook in *Peter Pan,* to make his dying speech prematurely, not merely for felicity of expression, but because dying leaves little time for speech-making.

Many of the less saintly great ones of the Earth quoted here do seem to have died in a very edifying manner at variance with the quality of their lives. But even if it be conceded that it is better to live well than to die well, it must also be conceded that it is better to die well than to do neither.

There are some truly beautiful passages in this volume like that of the Indian Chief, Muksika, the Duke of Montmorency, and the Japanese revolutionary, Kusakabe; but perhaps the most beautiful of the dying expressions which occur again and again is that phrase of simple beauty: "Into Thy Hands I commend my spirit."

There are some notable omissions such as Oscar Wilde's observation as he called for champagne: "I am dying as I have lived, beyond my means," and the classic utterance of the self-satisfied Auguste Comte: "What an irreparable loss!"

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THE INDWELLING OF THE TRINITY: A HISTORICO-DOCTRINAL STUDY OF THE THEORY OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS. By Francis L. B. Cunningham, O.P. Dubuque: The Priory Press, 1955. Pp. xvii + 355, with tables, appendices, and indices. $7.50.

The doctrine of St. Thomas on the indwelling of the Trinity has been the subject of much controversy in recent years. Father Cunningham presents an explanation of this doctrine from two points of view. The first approach is historical, in which he discusses and evaluates the various theories on the indwelling from the time of the Greek Fathers right up to St. Thomas himself, showing both the good and bad points of each theory. The influence each had on St. Thomas is thus definitely pointed out by a comparative analysis of texts.

The second approach consists in a comparative study of St. Thomas himself, as he presents the matter differently in his *Commentary on the Sentences* and his later work, the *Summa Theologiae*. Differences, slight though they be, are pointed out, and the *Summa* is interpreted in the light of the earlier work, to show the Saint's genius at synthesis and unity. Here again, Father Cunningham compares the texts of St. Thomas with passages from earlier writers and points out their influence on the Angelic Doctor. The author's whole purpose here is not to determine the Saint's precise doctrine, but rather to "reveal how and why St. Thomas' solution appears in various guises, to prove the identity of the answer underlying its diverse manifestations and to acquire in the process a deeper understanding of the position of the Angelic Doctor with regard to the indwelling of the Trinity" (p. 180).

In the first part, Father Cunningham begins with the Eastern Fathers who insisted explicitly on the substantial reality of this presence, which is common to the Three Persons as such, and on the necessity of grace for the realization of the presence. These men were less explicit in stating the connection between the missions and the indwell-

ing; but they contributed mainly two developments to the doctrine, namely, the manifestation of the Persons sent to us, and the relation between the image of the Trinity and its indwelling.

St. Augustine took the notion of a manifestation of the Persons and connected it with Their visible missions, and then applied it to Their invisible mission as an explanation of the indwelling. For Augustine, to be sent implies a manifestation of a Person, either visibly, as in the Incarnation, or invisibly, as in the indwelling, in which the Person sent is known. *Mitti est cognosci.* Although this is an important development, many questions are left unanswered. For instance, how are the Persons known? Does this knowledge presuppose anything?

Father Cunningham next considers the Schoolmen. They provide the background and set the atmosphere in which St. Thomas worked: Peter Lombard, William of Auxerre, Alexander of Hales, St. Albert the Great, and St. Bonaventure.

Father Cunningham sums up the common teaching of these men in seven propositions, with explanations and apt quotations from the Schoolmen themselves. (1) The indwelling is a real presence, i.e., physical and substantial, not merely moral. (2) This presence is distinct from God's common presence in all things. (3) This divine inhabitation is realized only by grace. (4) And is common to the Three Persons. (5) This inhabitation is, for the Son and Holy Spirit, the result of Their invisible missions. (6) The notion of manifestation is taken over from St. Augustine and refined. The manifestation is not only of a proceeding Person, but of an indwelling Person. (7) The notion of image (Augustine's attempt to explain the indwelling in terms of the image of God in the soul) is practically disregarded.

There are serious differences, however, among these theologians as to the precise mode of God's new presence. For instance, St. Albert, insisting on the fact of a *real* presence, explains that presence by formal extrinsic causality. God operates in us, and the Persons are present by appropriation. The obvious objection to this theory is the fact that God operates in nature too, and the real presence of the Trinity in natural effects cannot be accepted. (In this connection, some consideration is given to Father de la Taille, S.J., whose theory resembled that of St. Albert.) St. Bonaventure, on the other hand, places the formal reason for the inhabitation in the power to enjoy God. Fruition of God results from a union of love. However, "love can only achieve an intentional, affective union, not a real and physical one" (p. 162). It is true that "real, physical union is an efficient effect of love, but love itself can never be the formal reason for this real presence, nor even a disposition by means of which the loved one becomes present" (p. 129).

After considering all these possible influences on St. Thomas, Father Cunningham proceeds to the second half of his book in which he studies the doctrine of the Angelic Doctor himself. He presents the Saint's doctrine in general, and then analyzes the two works of St. Thomas in which the doctrine is presented in an entirely different manner, namely the *Scriptum Super Sententiis* and the *Summa Theologiae*. The core of this teaching can be expressed in four propositions: (1) Considered as an effect of God, sanctifying grace does not constitute the formal reason of the inhabitation. (2) A quasi-experimental knowledge, springing from the love and knowledge rooted in grace, is the proximate formal reason for the divine indwelling. This knowledge is not discursive, but comes about by a sort of contact, or tasting. It is called *sapientia,* wisdom. The formal objective medium for this knowledge is an effect of God in us expressive of God, i.e., the gift of Wisdom and the virtue of Charity. (3) This experimental knowledge presupposes God's presence of immensity. (4) This knowledge is necessary as habit, not as act.

It is interesting to note that St. Thomas did not accept the teaching of St. Albert. Rather, his doctrine in the *Sentences* follows Alexander of Hales, and in the *Summa* is suggested by St. Bonaventure. St. Thomas' doctrine is mainly Franciscan in origin.

There are differences, however, between the two works. The *Scriptum* must, of course, follow the development of Peter Lombard, whereas the *Summa* is a more logical and ordered treatment. The literary style of the *Summa* also shows that the author had sifted his material and presented it more briefly and concisely. Doctrinal differences are not sufficient to prevent Father Cunningham from concluding that "St. Thomas teaches an identical doctrine on the inhabitation in the *Scriptum Super Sententiis* and the *Summa Theologiae*" (p. 322). Father Cunningham considers the former work an invaluable commentary on the latter (p. 339).

The Indwelling of the Trinity is a competent and scholarly work. As the author points out in the preface, this is a technical study. Nevertheless, its usefulness is not limited to trained theologians. "Serious consideration of the problems it raises and the answers it proposes cannot but produce a firmer, deeper personal grasp of a central Christian mystery, and of St. Thomas' brilliant explanation of it" (p. vii)—and this in spite of technical language.

The frequent and brief summaries at different points in the book serve as excellent guideposts. I would also call attention to the complete and detailed index, and also to the various tables at the back of the book, comparing texts on the doctrine of the indwelling by references to each work.